

**TOWARD A DEFINITIVE
GRAMMAR OF BENGALI -
A PRACTICAL STUDY AND CRITIQUE
OF RESEARCH ON
SELECTED GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURES**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a contribution to a deeper understanding of selected Bengali grammatical structures as far as their syntactic and semantic properties are concerned. It questions traditional interpretations and takes a practical approach in the detailed investigation of actual language use. My methodology is based on the belief that clarity and inquisitiveness should take precedence over alliance to particular grammar theories and that there is still much to discover about the way the Bengali language works.

Chapter 1

This chapter on **non-finite verb forms** discusses the occurrences and functions of Bengali non-finite verb forms and concentrates particularly on the overlap of infinitives and verbal nouns, the distinguishing features between infinitives and present participles, the semantic properties of verbal adjectives and the syntactic restrictions of perfective participles.

Chapter 2

In the attempt to define Bengali **compound verbs** I question the appropriateness of purely semantic criteria, which have prevailed in previous analyses. If syntactic criteria are taken into account we arrive at a more diverse and more accurate picture of the relationship between the two combined verb forms.

Chapter 3

The majority of Bengali so-called **postpositions** are locative noun forms (spatial postpositions) or non-finite verb forms, which can function as postpositions. I have tried to develop some syntactic and semantic criteria in order to define the 'wordclass' of postpositions.

Chapter 4

Bengali **tenses** are remarkably flexible in their uses. In order to gain a clearer picture of their parameters I have examined the co-occurrence of tenses and of tense restrictions in sentences with particular time adverbials.

Chapter 5

Verbs of being and having (আছি-, zero verb, হওয়া and থাকা) are analysed according to their syntactic uses, restrictions, semantic features and overlap with one another, taking into account negative and non-present tense sentences. The chapter also establishes the importance of the zero verb as the main copula in Bengali.

Chapter 6

This chapter looks at **word order** and selected **sentence structures**. The discussion focusses on the features and parameters of Bengali passive and impersonal structures. Findings from previous chapters have been taken into account.

All chapters suggest areas of further research.

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INTRODUCTION

The theory - a framework for linguistic research

In the introduction to his paper *On Bangla Nouns* Probal Dasgupta writes: 'It is my view that a large number of linguistic research traditions today are valuable and worth pursuing, and that their concerns are complementary in such a way that no one research tradition in its present amplitude can hope for paradigmatic acceptance if only because no single tradition is ambitious enough to try to tackle the kinds of problems that interest workers in most or all of the other traditions put together. In a situation like this, it is necessary that each individual piece of research (article or book) relate itself to some particular tradition so as to achieve some measure of coherence and readability, although it remains possible for an individual researcher to attempt to work in several traditions, one at a time, one tradition per paper.'

I acknowledge the validity of this view but make no apologies for not aligning myself with a particular linguistic research tradition in this thesis. This decision is based on a variety of factors which can be summed up under the following three headings:

- the present state of research on Bengali language structures

Bengali linguistics has, in recent years, taken a gigantic leap from prescriptive schoolbook type grammars to complex analyses of individual grammatical structures following the methods of one or another transformational grammar model. In the course of my research I have read numerous articles, PhD theses and books on Bengali grammatical structures written by authors who follow a variety of research traditions. Dasgupta himself has done research (on number and case) within the framework mainly of GB (Government and Binding) Theory. Humayun Azad has done a transformational generative analysis of pronominalization in Bengali, Abul Manzur Morshed on relativization. More recently there have been the works of Rashida Begum on postpositions (GB theory) and Tanmoy Bhattacharya on the structure of 'Determiner Phrases in Bangla' along the lines of Chomsky's minimalism theory and Kayne's Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA). Though all of these contribute some valuable knowledge about Bengali language structures, their main concern is to prove or disprove particular theoretical axioms. The language used in these works tends to be very specialized, stringent and difficult to understand. I see it as part of the purpose of my work to extract from these somewhat theory-ridden theses the information on Bengali that will be relevant to a new Bengali grammar and make it accessible to other linguists who may not have the same theoretical background.

Alongside these academic writings there are a number of course books, grammars and introductions aimed at learners of Bengali. These present - this is oversimplified - a different kind of problem. Rather than offering a systematic, if limited, overview of Bengali language structures, they are often incomplete, arbitrary and faulty. I was first struck by this in McLeod's *Colloquial Grammar*, which I benefited from greatly when I started to learn Bengali. In his index, McLeod goes from 'causative verbs' to 'passive voice' to 'purpose, cause and consequence'. This constitutes a jump from syntactic to semantic criteria and must be confusing to the reader who will be looking at the index to find, most likely, particular grammatical categories. Similarly, M. L. Das's short and much-used *Present Day Colloquial Bengali for Foreign Students* is a happy jumble of syntactic and semantic points of interest, as also is Brother James' *Bengali for Foreigners*, which was one of my essentials but which is distinctly lacking in any kind of systematic approach. These kinds of books (and I count my own *Essential Everyday Bengali*, though perhaps a bit more systematic, among them) are quick-fix solutions, that is, they are very much geared towards helping people to learn Bengali and so cannot afford to delve too deeply into grammatical structures for fear of creating more chaos than order.

- the overall aim of this thesis

As stated in the title of this thesis, my main aim is to pave the way for a new, comprehensive and comprehensible Bengali grammar. W. L. Smith has taken an important step in this direction with his *Bengali Reference Grammar*, which unfortunately is not as widely known as it should be. Bengali linguists, at least we of the foreign contingent, tend to work in isolation from one another when we could all benefit so much more by working together.

It seems desirable in this situation and with a view towards a new Bengali grammar to take a step back from recent high-flying linguistic enterprises and aim first and foremost for a descriptive analysis of grammatical structures. This is a step from theoretical to practical linguistics: learning to walk before we try to run! If, in taking this step, we abandon the aim to prove that linguistics is an exact science then, on the other hand, we gain an increase in clarity and the opportunity to include linguists of all persuasions. This is not an attempt to give up on theoretical grammar but is an acknowledgement that no one grammar model is capable of explaining the whole of one language.

Linguistic rigour and clarity are not confined to transformational computations, and in this thesis I have tried to develop a methodology which is consistent but at the same time transparent, so that the research is accessible to all Bengali linguists and a discussion of our interpretations of Bengali grammatical structures can be triggered.

Probal Dasgupta writes: 'Rigorous phonology and morphology are still in their infancy as far as Bangla is concerned.' The same is true for Bengali syntax and semantics, which are the areas that I have been concerned with in this thesis. Dasgupta continues: 'Therefore it becomes necessary to make tentative proposals in those areas, and to develop a conception of word structure related to these proposals. Feedback from each wing of the enterprise makes it possible to find and correct errors in the other, enabling knowledge to grow in a non-vicious spiral' (*The Word in Bangla*)

There is still a lot of confusion and disagreement on Bengali linguistic structures, with regards to terminology, which is perhaps less important, but also with regards to actual usage, eg which case endings does the postposition *ছাড়া* follow? Equally there is a need for defining categories such as compound makers or even the 'word class' of postpositions. This may be seen as linguistics on quite a basic level, but, in my view, this is actually the level where questions need to be asked and answers sought in order for 'knowledge to grow in a non-vicious spiral' (see above).

- personal views

My decision to stay clear of particular grammatical theories and to restrict my research to descriptive analysis within a more traditional framework was almost inevitable given the divergent range of existing research and also the desire to break through the theory-practice split which tends to prevail in this kind of academic writing. But there are also some theoretical principles and beliefs at play here.

I believe very strongly that good academic work does not automatically have to be difficult and obscure, yet the number of PhD theses I have actually enjoyed reading, even if I did not understand everything, are very few. Even something like Abul Manzur Morshed's thesis on relativization in Bengali, which I did enjoy reading, left me with the feeling 'What have I learnt about Bengali relative clauses that I didn't know before?' The answer was 'very little', though I did learn quite a lot about transformation rules. As linguists, particularly, I feel that we should at least attempt to use our language skills in order to make our meanings clear and intelligible to others who don't have the same background.

Part of the purpose of a PhD degree is to show that a candidate is capable of original, methodical thinking, but that is not the same as successfully applying the rules of a particular system. In fact, there is nothing very original in that - it is comparable to taking a car engine apart and then putting it back together again according to a given plan with the aim of testing whether the plan is any good. Perhaps you can rearrange the parts and find a better system, but you are still working with a given fixed object with no room for expansion. Languages are not like car engines with a fixed set of parts, which can be arranged (or categorised) in different ways. Languages are living and growing organisms and our attempts at grammatical classification, interpretation or even rule-

finding should serve to increase our understanding, not to fit the language into prefabricated compartments.

Generative grammars and their numerous and diverse offspring were developed with the explicit purpose of understanding the principles that govern the phenomenon of language and of being able to produce well-formed language from these principles. Although this concept is extremely seductive in theory, it is ultimately based on the belief that if you dig deep enough, everything is explicable. Perhaps all scientific endeavour is to some extent based on this belief, but it carries with it a presumption of achievability which seems to me to be counterproductive to genuine questioning and research. Bengali grammar research is not yet at the stage where we know everything there is to know about grammatical structures and I think it is appropriate to do the groundwork first, which means to observe and describe language behaviour, without aiming to define the phenomenon of language.

David Graddoll, in his book *Describing Language*, makes the same point:

'It is difficult to make use of a specific theory without taking on board the aims of that theory; this means that, despite the allure of a potential explanatory theory, a simple descriptive approach may often be more suitable, for this will allow a stretch of language to be accurately described, or a problem to be set out in a principled way.' (p 101)

The practice - approaching language structures

Dūsan Zbavitel says in the introduction to his study on Bengali non-finite verb forms: 'I have no doubt that the whole problem of Bengali verbal compounds will have to be solved by Bengali linguists, possessing not only theoretical erudition needed for the task, but also the language feeling, which cannot be acquired in full by any foreigner' (p 20). Bengali linguistics is still in its infancy and many of the younger Bengali linguists choose to become experts in theoretical analysis of very specific grammatical research areas. This results in a gap on the ground floor, so to speak, where a basis needs to be established before we can move on to testing hypotheses. I believe that foreign linguists, even if they do not have the language feeling mentioned by Zbavitel, have a responsibility in trying to close this gap, as they have also contributed to its creation.

In order to establish language use examples have to be found. There has been a tendency, particularly among non-Bengali linguists (eg Milne, Zbavitel, Smith), to concentrate very much on literary Bengali. Although there is nothing inherently wrong with this, it can result in a limitation to older and more formal language structures as the body of our research when there is so much live language to be analysed. Bengali and non-Bengali linguists need to start working together, not only, as Zbavitel says, to employ a balanced mixture of research methods and language intuition, but, first and foremost, to

expand the object of our research. This means taking into account modern, colloquial Bengali, spoken as well as written.

The repetition of identical example sentences over the generations of researchers in order to establish the use of particular structures creates another recurring problem. This goes from Milne (Wenger) to Sutton-Page to Brother James to Smith, for instance:

তুমি শুনে থাকবে।	<i>You will have heard.</i>
হিন্দুদের বিধবার বিয়ে করতে নেই।	<i>Hindu widows are not allowed to marry.</i>
না গেলে নয়।	<i>It won't do not to go.</i>

These types of sentences - there are many more examples - have been handed down verbatim throughout the history of Bengali language research. And though it is understandable that a researcher may want to use well-established examples, it results in a fossilisation of our research body 'Bengali' and in a removal of this research body from the living language. I have become aware of this problem only in the course of writing this thesis and have therefore not consistently used new source materials, such as modern Bengali novels, journals and spoken language, though that seems to me to be a crucial component in gaining a new and wider perspective.

An expansion of our research material must be accompanied by the willingness to ask new questions or to ask old questions from a new angle. The grammatical structures discussed in this thesis are, by necessity, only a selected few, and the aims of this study consciously limited to observation and description of language structures, but it is perhaps because of these limitations that a more detailed and accurate analysis can be done and some new insights gained.

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After a long absence from academic life and very little outside help while I was writing 'the dictionary' *Essential Everyday Bengali*, the four years of doing this study at SOAS have been a wonderful and immensely enriching experience. The library at SOAS alone is a source of continuing rapture and discovery for me, but also workshops, lectures, teaching Bengali and ongoing discussions with PhD colleagues working on other languages have given me incentive and many new ideas. I am grateful to the AHRB for a scholarship in the third year of my study, which also resulted in the acquisition of a new computer with internet and email access - and an enormous widening of resources and contacts. I have had informative and fascinating email exchanges with, to name just a few, Paulo Souza in Brazil, Munshi Azad in Japan, Arild Engelsen in Norway, Probal Dasgupta and Udaya Naranaya Singh in Mysore, Tanmoy Bhattacharya always on the move, Debu Bandyopadhyay and Niladri Das in Kolkata, Alibha Dakshi at Santiniketan, Clinton Seely in Chicago, Marian Maddern in Australia, Tony Stewart in Carolina and William Smith in Stockholm - he will, despite some of my criticisms, find few people

who know and appreciate his *Bengali Reference Grammar* as thoroughly as I do! Udaya Singh's *Bibliography of Bengali Linguistics* proved an exciting springboard for this thesis.

I made new friends at the Linguistics Department at Kolkata University, the Asiatic Society and the Bangiya Sahitya Parisat Library in Kolkata, renewed old friendships at the Bangla Academy and University in Dhaka and kept in regular contact with my Bengali 'family' who were my original teachers and some of whom predicted even in the very early stages of my love-affair with Bengali that I would end up with a 'Bangla Masters'. Special thanks go to Ghulam Murshid, Arif Billah and my friend Chandanashis Laha for prompt and reliable help on particular grammar questions, and also to my faithful kakato bhai Ottul Rozario, whose arrival in Newcastle gave me many opportunities for long late-night phone-calls and discussions in and about Bengali.

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At this stage of completing my PhD thesis I have, not surprisingly, more questions about Bengali grammar than I did at the beginning but I also feel better equipped to tackle them. I hope that the research which I have done so far will prove to be not so much an ending but a stepping stone on the way to further linguistic expeditions.

Hanne-Ruth Thompson

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CHAPTER 1

NON -FINITE VERB FORMS

At the beginning of his book on non-finite verb forms in Bengali. Dusan Zbavitel says: 'The possibilities of simple finite verbal forms of Bengali are rather limited. [...] Finite forms taken out of their context, are incapable of expressing exactly delimited and mutually distinguished categories of tense, aspect and mood. [...] The simple present form may refer to present time as well as future and past. [...] In other words, syntactic constructions are needed, instead of pure morphological means, wherever a more definite denotation of tense, aspect and mood is required, or where passive voice is to be expressed.' (p 11) This, then, is one of the functions of non-finite verb forms in Bengali.

What Zbavitel is saying, in short, is that Bengali finite verb forms are inadequate, by themselves, to convey sufficient tense, modal or aspectual meaning and that non-finite verb forms are needed to express these. But why would he refer to finite forms 'taken out of context'? The fact that a present tense verb form can refer to present, past or future events does not mean that, in any actual sentence or text, its reference point is unclear. Bengali finite verb forms (given the existence of continuous (progressive) and of perfective tenses) are quite capable of expressing aspectual denotation, eg

আমরা তাস খেলছি। *We are (in the process of) playing cards.* vs

আমরা তাস খেলি। *We play cards (occasionally, regularly etc).*

Zbavitel's labelling of finite forms as 'morphological means' as opposed to 'syntactic constructions' (non-finite forms) displays a surprisingly perfunctory understanding of language structure as a whole. Finite verb forms are as much syntactic features of a language as non-finites are. Moreover, the function of a non-finite verb form in a sentence is, by definition, linked to and dependent on a finite verb form. The argument then of 'who can do it better?' becomes rather futile, ie there is no need to debilitate finite verb forms in order to prove the significance of non-finite forms. Finite and non-finite forms are interdependent parts of the verbal system of Bengali and work together to convey meaning. Zbavitel notes a considerable increase in the use of non-finite verb forms over the last 500 years, and this undoubtedly results in more refined distinctions between different structures but does not have to imply a weakening of the finite verb system. Rather, the availability of non-finite forms can enable their finite partners to become more flexible in their expression of tense and aspect.

Every verb in Bengali has a hypothetical stem from which all verb forms are derived. Due to vowel mutation in all monosyllabic verbs with a vowel other than a, we assume a high and a low stem for each verb. Mutation occurs between i → e, e → æ, u → o, o → ɔ. Bengali has, morphologically four, syntactically six non-finite verb forms. Verbal nouns (and homonymous verbal adjectives) are derived from the low stem, all other non-finite forms from the high stem of the verb. In monosyllabic verbs with a in the stem there is an a → e mutation. The perfective participle is formed with e, all other non-finite verb forms from the a-stem, eg from থাক- *stay, remain*: থাকলে, থাকতে, থাকা but থেকে.

Bengali non--finite verb forms are:

1. CONDITIONAL PARTICIPLE

This is formed by adding - লে -le to the high stem of a verb and is used as an alternative to constructions with যদি *if*. Thus, instead of saying

তুমি যদি পার, তাহলে এস। *Come if you can,* you can say
তুমি পারলে এস।

which is shorter, simpler and means exactly the same. The conditional participle is the least complicated of the non-finite verb forms and most authors agree in their analysis of it.

2. INFINITIVE

The infinitive is formed by adding - তে -te to the high stem of the verb. It can combine with verbs, nouns and adjectives and has many different semantic implications.

3. PRESENT PARTICIPLE

This is homonymous with the infinitive and some authors (Zbavitel, Smith) link the two together under the name 'imperfective participle'. There is, however, a syntactic difference between them. The present participle can have an adverbial function and is often doubled.

4. VERBAL NOUN (vn)

Verbal nouns are formed by adding - আ -a to the low stems of verbs which are monosyllabic and end in a consonant, eg করা *make, do*, বলা *say, speak*, বসা *sit*, আসা *come*, দেখা *see* etc. Monosyllabic stems which end in a vowel add -ওয়া -owa, eg খাওয়া *eat*, যাওয়া *go*, দেওয়া *give*, শোয়া *lie down* etc. Verbs with two syllable stems add - নো -no, such as চালানো *drive*, দেখানো *show*, ঘুমানো *sleep*, কমানো *decrease* etc. Verbal nouns can act like other nouns (eg as subjects of sentences) but they also have a number of other uses.

5. VERBAL ADJECTIVE (va)

Verbal adjectives look like verbal nouns, but are used as attributes or predicates of the sentence subject. Functionally they are past passive participles. All Bengali verbs have a verbal noun form, but only a limited number can be used as adjectives.

6. PERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE (pp)

This is formed by adding - এ -e to the high stem of the verb, but there are some irregularities. The perfective participle is used in sentences to refer to an action which either precedes another or is simultaneous with another. It can also form the first component of compound verbs.

Terminology

There seems to be some disagreement on what the different structures should be called. The terms used by the different authors are listed here:

	Zbavitel Smith	Chatterji Seely	McLeod Radice	Milne	Bykova
conditional participle	conditional participle	conditional conjunctive	conditional participle	participle in ইলে	conditional conjunctive
infinitive	imperfect participle	infinitive	infinitive	infinitive	imperfective conjunctive
present participle	imperfective participle	present participle	participial infinitive	infinitive	----
verbal noun	verbal noun	verbal noun	verbal noun	gerund	verbal noun
verbal adjective	verbal adjective	passive participle	verbal adjective	----	----
perfective participle	perfective participle	conjunctive indeclinable (Chatterji)	past participle	participle in ইয়া	perfective conjunctive

Probal Dasgupta, in his article on the interpretation of verbal nouns, calls them participial gerunds. Muhammad refers to the verbal noun as infinitive. It is tempting to argue that an infinitive cannot be a participle and that only one of the two terms can apply. David Crystal defines a participle as either a noun or an adjective derived from a verb. He says (p 290): 'The name comes from the way such a word participates in the characteristics of both' word classes. This makes a good case for verbal nouns and verbal adjectives. But infinitives can also have nominal characteristics. In the sentence আমি যেতে চাই *I want to go*, for example, the infinitive যেতে *to go* functions as the object of the verb চাওয়া *want*, ie it replaces a noun phrase.

It is more difficult to see how a conditional participle can be interpreted as anything other than a verb. This, however, is the one verb form that is consistently referred to as a participle, apart from the rather bland 'conjunctive' (Chatterji, Bykova). Chatterji states that the conditional participle is 'adjectival in character when it occurs absolutely with a noun or pronoun' and 'a verbal noun when it occurs with the genitive' (p 1004). His examples for the two instances are:

a) adjectival আমি তাকে দিলে তবে সে বাঁচে। translated as *He would live only if I give him.* [sic]

b) verbal noun আমার না দিলে কিছু আসে যায় না। translated as

It doesn't matter through my not giving [sic].

I must admit that, disregarding the strange translations, I cannot follow his argument for the first form being equivalent to an adjective. What adjective could possibly substitute for this clause? Surely the presence of two subjects in the sentence points to two separate clauses. In sentence b) the combination of the genitive and conditional participle seems unusual to me. I would have expected, for instance, আমার না দেওয়ার জন্যে or, simply, আমি না দিলে.

Animesh Pal refers to all the non-finite verb forms by their endings only, ie non-finite verb form ending in 1. ইলে -ile and লে -le 2. + 3, ইতে -ite and তে -te, 6. ইয়া -iya and এ -e, which is one way of circumventing this argument. However, for any kind of analysis of these verb forms, rather than just a listing of their occurrences, a more committed approach is needed. Without resolving the dispute about infinitives and participles, I will refer to the non-finite verb forms as **conditional participle, infinitive, present participle, verbal noun, verbal adjective** (functionally the past passive participle) and **perfective participle**.

I would like to make a case for distinguishing between the infinitive and the present participle because, even though they are homonymous, their syntactical structures are quite distinct. In a sentence like

সে গান শুনতে শুনতে গাড়ি চালায়। *He listens to music while he drives the car*

the present participle শুনতে শুনতে, with its object গান, can structurally be replaced by an adverb, for instance:

সে আস্তে আস্তে গাড়ি চালায়। *He drives the car slowly,*

which shows that the present participle is adverbial in character. The infinitive, on the other hand, as in the sentence

আমি তোমাকে এই কথা বলতে এসেছি। *I have come to tell you this,*

cannot easily be replaced by anything else. It forms a complement to the main verb আসা and the underlying structure consists of two independent sentences, ie

আমি এসেছি। *I have come* and

আমি তোমাকে এই কথা বলবো। *I will tell you this.*

There are, however, instances where the dividing line between infinitive and present participle is not so clear-cut. I will come back to these.

Note: There are a number of example sentences in this chapter which were given to me in an informal 'survey' by four young Bengalis. The background to this is explained in section 7.2. Sentences are marked OS (own survey). Unattributed sentences are mine.

The authors

Dusan Zbavitel

The aim of Zbavitel's book is to show the increase in the occurrence of non-finite verb forms over the last five hundred years. He does this by counting the incidents of non-finite verb forms in ten different texts ranging in time from the 15th century to the 1950s. Though this gives him a limited choice of examples, his book is by far the most detailed study on non-finite verb forms in Bengali. Zbavitel's work will be referred to on many occasions and I have tried in this chapter as well as in the chapter on compound verbs to take his views and classifications into account. The examples he gives from his source texts, however, do not lend themselves to being used for demonstrating the structures we are dealing with here - they are often too long or fragmented - so most of my examples are from other sources.

As a point of interest, he is the only author who draws attention to verbal noun pairs like লেখাপড়া *studying*, খাওয়াদাওয়া *eating*, পড়াশোনা *studying*. Other pairs that could be added are মেলামেশা *mixing*, নড়াচড়া *moving*, কাঁদাকাঁদা *crying*, দেখাশোনা *looking after*, খেলাধুলা *sport*. These verbal noun pairs may not be syntactically significant in that they are used like any other verbal noun, but they are nonetheless a characteristic feature of Bengali.

Qazi Din Muhammad

In his chapter on non-finite verb forms Muhammad (like other Bengali scholars) distinguishes the verb forms by their endings only. He restricts his analysis to listing the verb forms that can occur together. He goes through a list of what he calls operators and auxiliaries - both of these categories represent the sentence-final finite verbs - and shows which non-finite verb forms can or cannot precede them. There are a number of cases where different non-finite verb forms can be used with the same verb. With পড়া (as the finite verb) he has verbal nouns কাটা পড়া *be struck off*, দেখা পড়া *be caught*, ছাড়া পড়া *be deserted*, and perfective participles, eg কেটে পড়া *slip away*, লেগে পড়া *begin*. Muhammad gives both ঘুরা পড়া (verbal noun) and ঘুরে পড়া (pp) as meaning *wheel round*. Equally with আছ- he gives the verbal noun বসা আছ- *be unemployed* and the perfective participle বসে আছ- *wait*. I have never heard বসা আছ- used at all and I would think that in all these cases the perfective participle structures are far more common than the verbal noun ones. In determining the characteristics and occurrences of non-finite verb forms, Muhammad's study is of limited use.

Animesh Pal

Though Pal's article is mainly concerned with different types of verbal compounds, he starts with a section on non-finite verb forms. The verbal noun form is not included in his analysis. He seems to be very concerned in establishing a hierarchical order in sentences which contain non-finite verb forms. His conclusions are as follows.

In sentences which contain a perfective participle,

সে ভাত খেয়ে এসেছে। *He came after having eaten,*

'the main action to be communicated in this sentence is আস *come* and খা *eat* is a secondary action'.

With a conditional participle

সে ভাত খেলে অন্যেরা আসবে। *The others will come when he eats,*

he says 'Here আসবে is the principal action and খেলে is not only the subordinate action, its subject is different from the subject of আসবে'. I do not quite see the logical connection between these two statements. He goes on to say 'The subject of the non-finite verb formation with ইলে cannot simultaneously be the subject of the finite verb. After one writes সে ভাত খেলে the subject of the verb আসা must be someone else, it cannot be সে' (p 220).

I almost agree with his first statement about perfective participle structures, though he should have added that this is only true when the two verbs are sequential, ie one action following another. It is not true in compound verbs, where the meaning of the second (finite) verb can disappear altogether. His

claim that conditional participles describe 'subordinate actions' is debatable. In his example the conditional participle is used in a purely temporal sense, but if used in a conditional sense, eg

তুমি কালকে আসলে আমি তোমাকে টাকা দেব। *If you come tomorrow I will pay you,*

it can easily be argued that the conditional action is the principal one. If the condition is not fulfilled, then the second action will not even take place.

I disagree with his claim that conditional constructions have to have two separate subjects. A simple example:

আমি বাজারে গিয়ে (pp) ডিম আনব। *When I go to the market, I will buy some eggs.*

This presupposes that the speaker is going to the market. If the speaker is not sure whether or not he is going, then the natural thing to say would be

আমি বাজারে গেলে (conditional participle) *if I go to the market* ডিম আনব।

There is nothing at all unusual about this sentence.

With infinitive constructions, again, the non-finite verb form loses out in importance to the finite verb, in Pal's interpretation. About

সে ভাত খেতে এসেছিল। *He has come to eat,*

he says: 'Here we do not know whether the subject actually ate or not, but only that he had come to eat.

It is clear that in this sentence the action of eating is secondary in consequence to that of coming.' Is it?

If, as the sentence suggests, the only reason for *coming* is the food then surely the *eating* is paramount.

This can be shown in the sentence

সে ভাত খেতে এসেছে কিন্তু পরিবর্তে গরুদের খাওয়ালো।

He came in order to eat but fed the cows instead.

A sentence like this would be illogical if Pal's assumptions were true.

Probal Dasgupta

In his article on participle and gerund in wa/no (verbal noun) Dasgupta sets out to show that verbal nouns are nominal in character, rather than verbal. He moves away from the generative Clause Hypothesis which claims that in a sentence like

আপনার চিঠি লেখা শেষ হয়েছে কি? *Have you finished writing your letter?*

the subject of the sentence is আপনার চিঠি *your letter* with a complementizer লেখা and হয়েছে the main verb. Dasgupta's (presumably his own) Phrase Hypothesis, on the other hand, interprets লেখা, to cut a long and complex analysis short, as the subject of the sentence, preceded by a 'possessive adjunct' আপনার চিঠি *your letter*. He points out that gerunds can take case endings (object, locative and genitive case) and the definite suffix টা and that they can be governed by postpositions, eg ভাত খাওয়ার পরে *after having eaten rice*. 'I conclude that the wa/no word is a noun rather than a verb and the construction containing it a noun phrase rather than a clause' (p 190). His claim that in the example given above লেখা rather than আপনার চিঠি is the subject of the sentence, can easily be proved by asking কি শেষ হয়েছে? *What has finished?* to which the answer must surely be আমার চিঠি লেখা *my letter writing*, not just আমার চিঠি.

This in itself does not, however, sufficiently explain the syntactic relationship between লেখা and চিঠি. 'Adjunct' is a rather vague linguistic term referring to 'a modifier of a lexical head [...] which could in principle be removed without affecting well-formedness' (Trask, p 8). This is accurate for the sentence in question, ie চিঠি can be left out, but the relationship between লেখা and চিঠি is quite simply that of verb and direct object (cf আমি চিঠি লিখলাম। *I wrote a letter*), and this relationship is not affected by a change from a finite to a non-finite verb form. Dasgupta makes a valid point, but he is intent on showing the nominal character of verbal nouns in their ability to take determiners and case endings and, in the wake of this, ignores the fact that the ability to take an object is, usually, characteristic of verbs. If we allow that চিঠি is a direct object of লেখা, the status of verbal nouns as partly verbal and partly nominal has to be conceded.

The structures

0. PRELIMINARY : COMPARISON WITH ENGLISH

The significance of non-finite verb forms in Bengali can be appreciated better when we compare them to equivalent forms in English. English verbs have three non-finite forms:

- the infinitive with or without a preceding *to*, eg *She can dance* or *He wants to eat*.
- the -ing form, eg *singing*, which can function
 - in connection with forms of *be* to form continuous (progressive) tenses, eg
we are learning new ways, he was showing off his French, she will be asking questions
 - as a verbal noun (gerund), eg *his vision of healing, the pounding of the waves* etc
 - as a present participle, eg *Walking along the canal, we saw...*
 - as an adjective, eg *growing faith, a worrying thought, lasting impressions* etc
- the past participle, eg *sung*, which is adjectival. It occurs predicatively in forming passives, eg *the liturgy was sung* and can also be used attributively, eg *the sung part of the service, the spoken word* etc. Not all past participles, neither in English nor in Bengali, can function attributively. The criteria for these uses are not clear. Longman's English Grammar has a vague 'many past participles of verbs can be used as adjectives' but there is no attempt to define why it is possible to say *a hidden agenda, broken bones, crossed lines* but not **withstood pressure, *a gone chance, *kept integrity*. There are undoubtedly many past participles on the borderline of acceptability in attributive use. The precise semantic standing of these participles in relationship to their nouns may make for an interesting topic within a semantics model.

Note: Strictly speaking, English has another verbal noun form, which is identical to the basic verb form, eg *a talk, a show, a turn, a beat, a hold*. These uses have become lexicalised and are no longer felt to be derived, except in newer creations like *on the go, the big eat* (name of a recent nutritional campaign by a British supermarket), *a different take*.

A rough overview of English and Bengali non-finite forms looks like this:

0. 1 conditional participle

The Bengali conditional participle has no English non-finite equivalent.

0. 2 infinitive

There are many instances where Bengali and English infinitives are exactly equivalent to one another, eg when

- governed by another verb

আমি যেতে চাই। *I want to go.*

সে চিন্তা করতে লাগল। *He began to wonder.*

implying purpose

বাসা যেতে উঠল। *He got up to go home.*

এই কথা বলতে আসলাম। *I came to say this.*

implying permission

তাকে যেতে দাও। *Let him go.*

ভিতরে যেতে নেই। *It is forbidden to go inside.*

- governed by a noun

এই কথা বলতে তার অধিকার নেই।

He has no right to say this.

আমি সাইকেল চড়তে সাহস পাই না।

I don't have the courage to ride a bicycle.

- governed by an adjective

ঝগড়া করতে খারাপ। *It is bad to quarrel.*

সে কাজ করতে তৈরি। *He is ready to work.*

Sometimes a Bengali infinitive corresponds to an English verbal noun (gerund):

টাকা গুনতে কোন সময় আরম্ভ হবে?

When will they (implied) start counting the money.

আমার আর বাইরে আসতে লজ্জা কি?

What shame is there in my going out of doors?

Sometimes an English infinitive corresponds to a Bengali verbal noun:

আমার আরও টাকা দেওয়ার উপায় নেই।

I have no means to give more money.

আমাদের জন্মদিন পালন করার নিয়ম।

It is our custom to celebrate birthdays.

All these example sentences are given and attributed later on in the chapter.

0. 3 present participle

Bengali present participles, assuming we consider them a grammatical category, are much more restricted in their use than English present participles.

- In both languages the present participle can describe simultaneous, parallel actions, eg

সে গান গাইতে গাইতে অফিসে যায়। *He goes to the office singing.*

- English present participles can be used instead of relative clauses, eg

- following a subject: *the wind driving me on...*
- following an object: *he has a study overlooking fields...*

In both cases Bengali uses relative clauses.

- English present participles can be used attributively before a noun. In fact, a number of them are so common in this position that they are classified as adjectives in dictionaries, eg *an exciting prospect, a boring conference, an interesting idea* etc. The closest equivalent non-finite verb forms Bengali has to this are verbal adjectives, eg একজন কাজ করা মানুষ *a hard-working man*, গান করা জেলেটি *the singing fisherman*.

0. 4 verbal noun (gerund)

The English -ing form, apart from its use in the formation of continuous tenses, has two main functions. It can be a present participle (see above) or a gerund. As a gerund it has nominal characteristics comparable to the Bengali verbal noun, but is more limited in its use. Subject, object and complement uses (as in Bengali) are common, eg

as subject *Always being cheerful can be hard work.*

as object *He likes making the rules.*

as complement *Happiness consists in demanding more of oneself.*

Many Bengali verbal noun uses are equivalent to English infinitives. These are discussed in section 4. but as an example, one very common verbal noun use in Bengali is in constructions with উচিত *ought*, দরকার *need*, and কথা *supposed to*. In all these cases English uses an infinitive, eg

আপনার কিছু বলা উচিত। *You ought to say something.*

তোমার সঙ্গে আমার দেখা করার দরকার। *I need to see you.*

তার আজকে আসার কথা ছিল। *He was supposed to come today.*

0. 5 verbal adjective (Bengali) - present and past participles (English)

English has two kinds of verbally derived adjectives, namely the present and past participle. The crucial difference between them is their active/ passive status, ie present participles are active, eg *a baffling game*, past participles have a passive meaning, eg *an unexpected strength*. Bengali verbal adjectives normally share the passive component with English past participles, but they can also assume an active status and can then be used to translate English present participles, eg *the departing ferry* রওনা দেওয়া ফেরি. More commonly, English attributive present participles would be translated with a relative clause in Bengali, eg যে রওনা দিচ্ছে ফেরিটা.....

0. 6 perfective participle (Bengali) - past participle (English)

The main non-adjectival uses of the English past participle is in the formation of compound tenses, eg present, past and future perfect (*I have foregone, you had forgotten, she will have lost*), in the formation of passives with the verb *be* (*it was decided, it is forbidden, it will be remembered*), in the formation of causatives (*to have one's book published, one's proofcopies checked, one's mail forwarded*) or in non-causative constructions with the same syntactic pattern (*have + object + past participle*) eg *to have one's hopes dashed, one's heart broken*.

Of all these, only the passive formation has a comparable non-finite verb form in Bengali, eg

সিদ্ধান্তটা নেওয়া হল। *It was decided.*

but নেওয়া *take* in this context is most likely a verbal noun which, syntactically, forms the sentence subject but is still capable of having সিদ্ধান্তটা *the decision* as an object. This type of example is discussed by Probal Dasgupta (see p 21).

English past participles can be used attributively and predicatively (see above) and this is the only instance where they overlap with Bengali past passive participles (or verbal adjectives).

The Bengali perfective participle is the active counterpart to the verbal adjective, but it cannot be used attributively and English has no non-periphrastic equivalent.

The following table starts from the English non-finite verb-forms (column 3) and shows their uses (columns 1 and 2) and Bengali equivalents (column 4), with other functions of the same morphological Bengali form (column 5). Column 5 relates directly only to column 4, ie there is no direct link between, eg column 1 and 5 (hence the arrows). The table shows

- the morphological overlap of non-finite forms within either language, ie English present participle and gerund or Bengali present participle and infinitive
- the Bengali equivalents to the English forms

More details on the use and overlap of the Bengali forms are discussed in sections 1 - 6.

→ p 26

English			Bengali	
column 1	column 2	column 3	column 4	column 5
properties and examples	possible syntactic function	morphological form (English)	Bengali equivalent, function, properties, examples	other functions of the same morphological form (Bengali)
can express purpose <i>I'm going there to tell him.</i>	complements of other verbs	infinitive	» infinitive - same as English আমি তাকে এই কথা বলতে সেখানে যাব।	» present participle
nominal <i>I like playing.</i>	gerund	-ing form	» verbal noun খেলা আমার ভাল লাগে।	» verbal adjective
simultaneous action <i>Walking along the river, I saw...</i>	present participle		» present participle নদীর পারে হাঁটতে হাঁটতে আমি ... দেখলাম।	» infinitive
attributive or predicative (active) <i>a singing fisherman</i>	adjectival		» verbal adjective (active meaning) গান করা জেলে	» verbal noun
<i>The work has been done.</i>	formation of passives	past participle	» verbal noun কাজ করা হয়েছে।	» verbal adjective
attributive or predicative (passive) <i>a prepared speech</i>	adjectival		» verbal adjective, passive meaning বানানো বক্তৃতা	» verbal noun
				other non-finites (Bengali)
no non-finite English equivalent		<i>if/when I go</i>	clausal আমি চলে গেলে	conditional « participle
no non-periphrastic English equivalent		<i>having gone</i>	active, perfective আমি চলে গিয়ে	perfective « participle

It is notable that the form of the present participle corresponds in English to that of the verbal noun, in Bengali to that of the infinitive. This may have some significance in the interpretation of the semantic differences between

English: *I like swimming.* vs *I like to swim.*
 Bengali: আমার সাঁতার কাটা ভাল লাগে। vs আমার সাঁতার কাটতে ভাল লাগে।

There is a tentative suggestion in Longman's English Grammar: '-ing may refer to an action in progress, whereas the to-infinitive may imply 'in general'.' (p 317) I suspect that Bengali works the other way round, with the verbal noun use being the more general, but I will come back to this in section 7.

The differentiating factor between finite and non-finite verb forms is that non-finite verb forms cannot be the only verb in a sentence and they do not carry inflectional information. Bengali non-finite verb forms are defined by their relation with the finite verb in each sentence, eg the perfective participle describes a preceding action, the present participle a simultaneous action, the conditional participle a condition for the action described by the finite verb. Both the infinitive and the verbal noun have a variety of syntactic functions. The following section offers a closer analysis of the structures we are dealing with, their characteristics and how they are used. In addition to the authors mentioned above my main sources have been Chatterji, Smith, Milne and to a lesser extent McLeod and Brother James. Mimi Klaiman's analysis of perfective participle structures with more than one subject in a sentence has contributed some new aspects.

Having said, at the beginning of this chapter, that all Bengali verbs have four, actually six, non-finite verb forms, this has to be rectified by pointing out that the incomplete verb *আছে* has all its non-finite verb forms supplied by forms of *থাকা* *stay, remain* (but see also chapter 5). A verbal noun form for the zero verb is postulated as *নহা* in the Samsad dictionary, but this is not used in sentences. A conditional participle *নহিলে* is used as an alternative to *না হলে* *if not, otherwise*. When negated, all non-finite verb forms are preceded, not followed, by the negative particle *না*.

1. THE CONDITIONAL PARTICIPLE

These irregular forms should be noted:

গেলে from যাওয়া *go*, দিলে from দেওয়া *give*, নিলে from নেওয়া *take*, sometimes এলে from আসা *come*, আসলে is also possible, চাইলে and গাইলে from চাওয়া *want* and গাওয়া *sing* respectively, খেলে (or খাইলে), পোলে (or পাইলে) from খাওয়া *eat* and পাওয়া *receive*.

The conditional participle is the most straightforward of all the non-finite verb forms and there is a general consensus as to its properties, but we must take note of Milne's introduction to his section on conditional participles with this grand statement: 'The uses of this participle reveal some of the most important idioms in Bengali and it will be impossible for the student ever to understand the colloquial

language properly unless he carefully studies the various senses in which it is found.' (p 183) So, let us pay attention and study!

1.1 conditional use

The conditional participle provides us with the simplest way of making a conditional sentence, eg

1.1.1 দেরি হলে আমাকে জানাবে। *Let me know if you are running late.*

The use of this participle is particularly appropriate in short clauses where it stays close to the subject of the sentence, whereas in longer clauses the use of যদি *if* tends to prevail, eg

1.1.2 ও যদি মূর্খের সুর্গে বসবাস করতে চায়...

If he wants to live in a fool's paradise... (Smith, p 167)

The conditional participle as a non-finite and thus 'tenseless' verbform can replace যদি *if* in simple as well as in hypothetical clauses. The phrase আমি গেলে can mean either *if I go*, *if I went* or *if I had gone*, depending on the tense in the main clause, eg

simple: 1.1.3 দেরি হলে চলবে না।

It will not do to be late. (Smith, p 142) or

hypothetical: 1.1.4 অসুবিধা না হলে থেকে যেতাম।

If there weren't a problem, I would stay. (Das, p 75)

1.2 temporal use

Zbavitel points to 'a loss, or at least a weakening, of the conditional meaning of this participle' (p 50).

'Not seldom, it is used instead of a perfective participle in a syntactic construction of two verbal actions, where no condition, but a simple temporal sequence is involved' (p 14).

1.2.1 চোর পালালে বুদ্ধি বাড়ে। lit:

Wisdom increases when the thief has fled. (Milne, p 183)

Milne interprets this as: *To shut the stable door after the horse is stolen* (didn't the horse just go?), but I think it means something more like *to become wise after the event*.

This use of conditional participles in a temporal sense is perhaps not surprising. The normal structure in Bengali to describe a sequence of events is with a perfective participle which is usually restricted to two or more actions or events with the same subject. The conditional participle offers a convenient alternative in sentences where different subjects are required. For instance, the English sentence

When guests arrive we give them tea,

can be rendered in Bengali with the use of a conditional

1.2.2 মেহমান আসলে আমরা চা দেই। but not of a perfective participle

*মেহমান এসে আমরা চা দেই।

Zbavitel also has this example which does not involve two different subjects

1.2.3 বড় হলে একদিন বুঝবে।

When you grow up one day you will understand. (p 14)

There is an interesting time issue at play here. Syntactically, the sentence could also be formed with a perfective participle describing one action preceding another. The perfective participle has no direct

reference to an actual point in time, that is, the action which it precedes can take place in past, present or future and is determined by the finite verb in the sentence. But in this case, with a reference point lying years ahead in the future, the use of a perfective participle would be overstretching its temporal capacities and the use of a conditional participle is, semantically, more appropriate.

1.3 followed by পর, পরে

Smith puts forward that, apart from being used both in a temporal and in a conditional sense, the conditional participle is sometimes followed by পর / পরে *after* eg

1.3.1 তার অসুখ হলে পর... . *After he became ill...* (p 141)

Milne has similar examples and explains them by saying that in these sentences 'the participle retains its adverbial sense - it denotes a succession of events' (p 183):

with one subject 1.3.2 সকালে উঠিলে পরে তিনি স্নানাহার করিলেন।

After rising early he bathed and took his meal.

with two subjects 1.3.3 আমি সেখানে গেলে পর তিনি আসিলেন।

He came after my arrival there.

I am not very familiar with this structure - perhaps it is no longer commonly used. It seems to me that in same-subject sentences a perfective participle (সকালে উঠে তিনি স্নানাহার করিলেন), in sentences with different subjects a verbal noun structure like আমার সেখানে যাওয়ার পর তিনি আসিলেন would be more usual, but this use should at least be recorded.

1.4 গেলে with preceding infinitive

Milne mentions this structure 'used very idiomatically' (p 184). He gives these examples:

1.4.1 বলিতে গেলে, সেই সর্ব্বাপেক্ষা ধনী। *In fact, he is the richest of all.*

1.4.2 এ কাজ করতে গেলে অনেক টাকা চাই। *It requires a large sum to do this work.*

1.4.3 তোমাকে বাঁচাইতে গেলে আমি ও মরে যাব।

If I go to save you I too shall die. (all Milne, p 184-5)

1.4.4 বলতে গেলে অনেক কথা বলতে হয়।

If (I) were going to speak, (I) had a great deal to say. (Smith, p 147)

'I would have had a great deal to say' or 'would have had to say a great deal' is a more acceptable translation.

Syntactically, these are ordinary conditional sentences but the infinitives add a note of intent or deliberateness which is similar to their semantic value in sentences like 2.1.8 (see below)

আমি রিপোর্ট দিতে যাচ্ছি।

I'm going [in order] to give a report. (Smith, p 147)

For this reason, it may be more appropriate to class these sentences under uses of the infinitive.

1.5 followed by ই or ও

Conditional participles can be followed by either of the two particles ই (for emphasis) or ও (to add concessive force). Examples for these are:

- 1.5.1 দাম বেশি হলেই জিনিস ভাল হয় না।

Just a high price does not make a thing good. (Smith, p 141)

- 1.5.2 এ পস্তক খুব সহজ, পড়লেই বুঝা যায়।

This book is very easy - it only requires to be read to be understood.

(Milne, p 185)

Brother James adds to this that when used in a temporal sense the particle ই, added to the conditional participle can also imply *as soon as*, eg

- 1.5.3 ঐ ভাত খেলেই তার অসুখ হয়েছে।

As soon as he had eaten that rice he became sick. (p 94)

This sentence - there are similar examples with perfective participles - indicates a subtle semantic shift towards a possible causal meaning, but by using a temporal structure the speaker deliberately refrains from making a more direct, possibly accusatory, statement.

Examples for uses with the particle ও are:

- 1.5.4 ছোট হলেও ফ্ল্যাটটি তার পক্ষে যথেষ্ট।

Even though it's small, the flat is sufficient for him. (Smith, p 141)

- 1.5.5 সে খাইলেও সন্তুষ্ট হয় না। *Though he eats, he is not satisfied.*

- 1.5.6 গুরু আদেশ করলেও এ কাজ করব না।

Even if my Guru ordered me - I will not do this. (both Milne, p 188)

1.6 with হওয়া and চলা

Smith points to the two impersonal constructions with চলা and হওয়া implying *it will do*, *it is sufficient*. Both of these structures are quite colloquial. The use of tenses and negatives is interesting here. Both চলা and হওয়া can be used in the past habitual tense in its subjunctive meaning

- 1.6.1 এক কাপ হলেও চলত। *Even a cup (of tea) would do. (Smith, p 142)*

- 1.6.2 পরে মনে হলো সঙ্গে গেলে হতো।

Afterwards I thought it would have been better had I gone.. (Smith, p 142)

All other examples with চলা are in the future tense as in sentence 1.1.3 (দেবি হলে চলবে না) and in

- 1.6.3 আজ অফিসে না গেলে চলবে না।

It won't do (for me) not to go to the office today. (OS)

- 1.6.4 একটুও সময় নষ্ট করলে চলবে না।

One shouldn't waste even a little time. Smith, p 142)

হওয়া, on the other hand, is not used in the future tense but only in simple present and simple past tense. Milne (p 186ff) somewhat arbitrarily separates these uses, without, however, defining their differences, eg

with simple past in the sense of *be sufficient*

- 1.6.5 তুমি অনুমতি দিলেই হইল।

If you simply give your permission, it is enough. (Milne, p 186)

- 1.6.6 তা চুল পাকতে না দিলে হল।

But one need not let one's hair turn grey.

and, as an example for Milne's creative brand of translation:

1.6.7 মারিলেই হল; এ তোমার কাজ নয়।

Beat me? You think that's an easy task for you? Never! (p 186)

with simple present

1.6.8 তাকে পণ্ডিত বলিলেই হয়।

One may as well call him a Pundit.

1.6.9 সোজা কথা, বলে দিলেই হয়। imaginatively translated as

It is a simple thing and may be said without beating about the bush.

with simple present negative (either হয় না or নয়)

1.6.10 একজন ডাক্তার ডাকলে হয় না?

Won't it be wise to call a doctor?

1.6.11 কিন্তু আজ তাহার না খাইলে নয়।

But today he can't go without eating.

with concessive ও in simple present denoting *as well*

1.6.12 পাগল বলিলেও হয়।

One may as well call him a fool.

1.6.13 তোমার সঙ্গে কলিকাতায় বেড়াতে গেলেও হয়।

I may as well go to Calcutta with you. (all examples Milne, p 186ff)

I do not see enough difference between these types of sentences to treat them separately. The simple past verb form হল (1.6.5 - 1.6.6) has a tenseless connotation, similar to its use in, for instance

কথা হল সে এখনও আসে নি।

The thing is, he hasn't arrived yet.

or in its uses as a pro-copula (see chapter 5).

There is no semantic difference between sentences 1.6.8 and 1.6.12 - the concessive ও seems to have lost its impact here and could just as well be left out. In sentence 1.6.13 the added ও sounds decidedly strange.

The difference between the use of হয় না (1.6.10) and নয় (1.6.11) is more intriguing. Intuitively, I would say that নয় is more decisive and uncompromising, whereas হয় না retains some of the dynamic character that is intrinsic to হওয়া, but this may be partly caused by its interrogative context.

Future tense forms of হওয়া are conspicuously absent among these examples, most likely due to previous semantic 'engagements', in the sense of, eg

এটা হবে। which can mean *this will happen*, or *this is enough*, and

এটা হবে না। *this will not happen*, or *this is not enough*.

The semantic implications in the above structures of *appropriateness*, *acceptability*, *sufficient effort* are not expressed through the future tense of হওয়া.

Another marginal use of the conditional participle, which is not mentioned by any of our authors is the combination of two forms of the same verb in imperatives, eg দিলে দাও or গেলে যাও. This has an

exhortative effect, probably best translated as *Go on, hand it over!* and *Go on, get going!* Again, these structures are quite colloquial.

2. THE INFINITIVE

Irregular forms: যেতে from যাওয়া *go*, দিতে from দেওয়া *give*, নিতে from নেওয়া *take*, খেতে or খাইতে from খাওয়া *eat*, চাইতে and গাইতে from চাওয়া *want* and গাওয়া *sing*, respectively.

The Bengali infinitive can correspond very nicely to the infinitive in English, but in the cases where it does not, things can become complicated. In order to describe the infinitive most authors simply give a long list of its uses with no discernible structure to it, variously based on semantic or syntactic criteria. In order to bring a bit of system into this chaos, I suggest putting the syntactic criteria above the semantic ones and then have a sort of 'dustbin' category for all the structures that do not fit anywhere else and for idiomatic uses of individual verbs, as, for instance, বলতে and দেখতে.

Present participles are discussed in section 3.

2.1 with other verbs

This is by far the largest category of infinitive uses. Many of these uses are similar to English structures. Zbavitel lists the following ten verbs which can govern an infinitive: পারা *be able to*, পাওয়া *get, receive*, লাগা *start, begin*, চাওয়া *want*, যাওয়া *go*, বসা *sit*, থাকা *stay*. The following verbs take on a different meaning when following an infinitive: দেওয়া *let, allow*, আছ- *be permitted*, হওয়া *must, have to*. Apart from হওয়া and আছ- all these verbs in conjunction with a preceding infinitive form sentences where the infinitive can be interpreted as a complement of the verb. Some of these structures imply purpose. Let us look at some simple examples (sentences 1- 10 from Smith, p 145ff):

- | | | | |
|----------------|-------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| পারা (ability) | 2.1.1 | সে বাংলা বলতে পারে না। | <i>He cannot speak Bengali</i> |
| (propriety) | 2.1.2 | আমি নিতে পারব না। | <i>I won't be able to accept it.</i> |
| (possibility) | 2.1.3 | বয়স ৬০-৬৫ হতে পারে। | <i>His age may be 60 or 65.</i> |

This structure seems straightforward to us because it is exactly parallel to the English, but it has to be remembered that পারা in Bengali is a full verb, not an auxiliary as the English *can*, but more appropriately translated as *be capable of*. Chatterji interprets সে চলতে পারে *He can walk*, as *he - in the act of walking - is able* (p 1014).

In connection with verbs of sensual perception পারা takes on an unexpected emotive connotation:

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| 2.1.4 | আমি তার কথা শুনতে পারি না। | |
| | <i>I can't stand listening to him.</i> | |

Instead, the verb পাওয়া *get, receive* with verbs of sensual perception expresses ability:

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | 2.1.5 | শুনতে পাচ্ছ? | <i>Can you hear?</i> |
| লাগা (inchoative) | 2.1.6 | চোখ খুলতে লাগল। | <i>(He) began to open his eyes.</i> |
| চাওয়া (implies wish) | 2.1.7 | সে বাড়ি ফিরে যেতে চায়। | <i>He wants to go back home.</i> |
| যাওয়া (implies intention) | 2.1.8 | আমি রিপোর্ট দিতে যাচ্ছি। | <i>I'm going to give a report.</i> |

Milne's sentences with infinitives followed by the conditional participle গলে (1.4.1 - 3) belong here.

বসা (implies purpose) 2.1.9 তারা আলাপ করতে বসল।

They sat down to talk. (Brother James, p 69)

2.1.10 সূর্য অস্ত যেতে বসেছে।

The sun was about to set. (Smith, p 147)

থাকা (implies continuity

or repetition)

2.1.11 দিনের পর দিন পাস্তুর তাকে ইনজেকশন দিতে থাকলেন।

Pasteur went on giving him injections day after day.

(Smith, p 148)

These are the verbs listed by Zbavitel, but I suggest that the following should also be included:

আসা *come* can be used in the same way as যাওয়া *go*:

2.1.12 আমি তাস খেলতে আসবো। *I will come to play cards.*

ওঠা *get up* can be used in the same way as বসা *sit*:

2.1.13 বাসা যেতে উঠলাম। *I got up to go home,*

Both sentences imply purpose.

দেওয়া (implies permission) 2.1.14 তাকে যেতে দাও। *Let him go!*

This structure is somewhat different from the previous ones in that it contains an embedded sentence, ie the sentence can be separated into তুমি দাও *you give* and সে যাবে *he will go*. The verb দেওয়া *give* acquires the semantic component of permission only in combination with a preceding infinitive.

In addition to these I would also include the verb বলা *say, tell* as in

2.1.15 আমি তোমাকে আসতে বলেছি। *I told you to come,*

because it is structurally similar to infinitive combinations with দেওয়া *let, allow*. বলা does not change its semantic properties in this context. There are, of course, a number of other verbs which can be combined with an infinitive, but, as Zbavitel points out, many of them can use either the infinitive or the verbal noun.

Before we go on to this group of verbs, however, the remaining two verbs on Zbavitel's list need to be dealt with. The incomplete verb আছি- can, in sentences with a preceding infinitive, imply permission. Smith gives the example

2.1.16 সেখানে কি যেতে আছে? *Is it permitted to go there?*

The equivalent negative structure is formed with নেই, eg

2.1.17 এখানে জুতা পরতে নেই। *It is forbidden to wear shoes here.*

The structure with হওয়া is quite different from any of the other structures. The combination of an infinitive with a form of হওয়া expresses obligation or moral duty. The logical subject of the sentence, when it is not omitted, appears in the accusative or genitive case. Sentences look like this:

subject (accusative or genitive) + infinitive of the verb + 3rd person form of হওয়া
(in any tense)

Both this structure and the infinitive + আছি- combination have a semantic force which lies in their syntactic make-up rather than in the meaning of individual words. This is discussed further in section 3.5 in chapter 5.

This structure is very frequently used

in the future tense 2.1.18 কালকে আমাকে যেতে হবে। *I will have to go tomorrow.*

A future tense reference is not necessarily involved, eg

2.1.19 সকলেই মরিতে হবে। *Everyone must die.* (Milne, p 192)

I have recently marked about 100 O-Level Bengali exam papers, where the sentence *In performance you have to feel the same thing*, was invariably translated with a future tense form of হওয়া : কন্সার্ট হলে একই জিনিস অনুভব করতে হবে. This makes me inclined to think that in colloquial usage of this structure the future tense is the common tense for general, 'tenseless' statements.

Uses in other tenses are:

simple present 2.1.20 সকালে নাস্তা বানাতে হয়।

Breakfast has to be prepared in the morning. (OS)

present continuous 2.1.21 আবার ও টাকা দিতে হচ্ছে। probably best translated as

Again I (implied) am having to give money. (OS)

simple past 2.1.22 মাকে সত্যি কথা বলতে হলো। *I (implied) had to tell mother the truth.*

(OS)

The past habitual is not impossible, eg

2.1.23 প্রদীপ কাজটা না করলে আমাকে করতে হত।

If Prodip wasn't doing the work, I would have to do it. (OS)

but this use is not very common.

Zbavitel lists the following verbs - this is where we get into deep water - as being able to govern an infinitive but says at the same time that verbal noun forms can also be used in some of these cases. The verbs are:

জানা *know* 2.1.24 আমি জুয়া খেলতে জানি। *I know how to gamble.*

শেখা *learn* 2.1.25 বিলিতি মদ খেতে শেখো নি।

You haven't learnt to drink foreign spirits. (both Smith, p 132)

This example from Chatterji presents a different problem:

দেখা *see* 2.1.26 তাকে যেতে দেখলাম। *I saw him walking.*

He says 'The -ite infinitive is liable to be confused with the -ite present participle, and it is at times difficult to decide which form it is' (p 1015). The same, presumably, goes for the next example.

শোনা *hear* 2.1.27 আমি তাকে কথা বলতে শুনিনি। *I haven't heard him talk.*

These examples show that there is a potential overlap of infinitives with verbal nouns on the one hand (sentences 2.1.24 and 25) and possible confusion with present participles on the other (2.1.26) and 27). I will discuss examples of these further in section 7.1 and 7.2, but some preliminary considerations may be appropriate here.

Both Smith and Zbavitel state that the infinitive is preferred to the verbal noun where emotions or attitudes are concerned (Zbavitel, p 60). Zbavitel adds to this, couched in no uncertain terms: 'If the action is qualified in some way, the verb must stand in the form of a present verbal noun. The imperfective participle (infinitive) is never used in such cases, eg *it is easy, difficult, troublesome, possible, dangerous*' etc (p 61) These are contentious claims. We have to remember that Zbavitel's research is based on a limited number of texts and that his conclusions are drawn from these texts only - but because of these limitations he should be wary of making such sweeping statements, particularly as counter-examples are easily found, eg sentences 2.3.6 and 2.3.7 below. With verbs expressing emotion or attitude ভালবাসা *love*, ভাল / খারাপ লাগে *like, dislike*, পছন্দ করা / হওয়া *like, enjoy* ইচ্ছা করা / হওয়া *wish* there are these examples

- | | | |
|------------------|--------|---|
| with infinitive | 2.1.28 | বিড়াল মাছ ও দুধ খেতে ভালবাসে।
<i>Cats like to eat fish and milk. (Brother James, p 71)</i> |
| | 2.1.29 | আপনার কথা শুনতে ভাল লাগে।
<i>I like what you are saying. (Das, p 61) or</i>
<i>I like listening to you.</i> |
| | 2.1.30 | দুধ খেতে তার খুব পছন্দ। <i>He likes drinking milk. (OS)</i> |
| | 2.1.31 | এটা নিতে ইচ্ছে হয়েছিল তার।
<i>He had wanted to take it. (Smith, p 116)</i> |
| with verbal noun | 2.1.32 | বাগান করা আমার ভাল লাগে।
<i>I like gardening. (TYB, p 138)</i> |
| | 2.1.33 | আমি বাংলা পড়া পছন্দ করি।
<i>I like reading Bengali. (Seely, p 245)</i> |
| | 2.1.34 | সমুদ্রের কাছে বেড়াতে যাওয়া আমার খুব ভাল লাগে।
<i>I love to take walks by the sea. (Smith, p 117)</i> |
| | 2.1.35 | পরের মনে ব্যথা দেওয়া আমি ভালবাসি না।
<i>I don't like to worry others. (Milne, p 176)</i> |
| | 2.1.36 | বিনা নিমন্ত্রণ সেখানে যাওয়া আমার ইচ্ছা নয়।
<i>I don't wish to go there without an invitation. (Milne, p 176)</i> |

Both পছন্দ করা and ইচ্ছা করা are included here only for their semantic properties. They, along with all the other verbs Zbavitel gives, are actually noun-verb conjuncts, like চেষ্টা করা, ভয় করা etc and I would put them under

2.2 with nouns

Smith has a category of infinitives governed by nouns implying delay or similar concepts, eg

2.2.1 তার আসতে এখন অনেক দেরি। *He is now very late.*

2.2.2 জানতে বুঝতে খুব বেশি বিলম্ব হল না।

It didn't take very long to know and understand. (both p 132)

Smith's very semantically orientated classification does not allow for any other infinitive structures 'governed by nouns'. He does, however, have a section with 'verbs describing feelings, attitudes and intent'. All the verbs given in his example sentences are actually conjunct verbs, formed by a noun with colourless verbs like হওয়া, করা, পাওয়া, for instance লজ্জা করা *be embarrassed*, ভরসা পাওয়া *be encouraged*, আরম্ভ করা *begin*. One of his sentences in this section is indeed verbless, though আছি- could be added 2.2.3 কলকাতা দেখতে তোমার এতো সাধ।

You have such a desire to see Calcutta. (p 131)

These conjunct verb uses are quietly slipped into the category 'governed by verbs' by Smith and Milne, as well as by Zbavitel, but I think that a closer look reveals that in these sentences the infinitive stands in relationship to the noun itself, rather than to the verbal conjunct. If we consider the following simple sentences, which can all be translated as *I have the wish to go there* ie *I want to go there*:

2.2.4 আমার ওখানে যেতে ইচ্ছা।

2.2.5 আমার ওখানে যেতে ইচ্ছা করে।

2.2.6 আমার ওখানে যেতে ইচ্ছা হল।

we find that this particular class of abstract nouns can often form conjuncts with more than one verb, (in this case with an omitted আছি-, করা or হওয়া) which shows that there is some flexibility within the conjunct but the relationship with the non-finite form (in this case the infinitive) is constant.

This is not meant to imply that the infinitive is the only possible non-finite verb form in these sentences 2.2.7 আমার ওখানে যাওয়ার ইচ্ছা আছে।

with a verbal noun form is also possible, but the semantic implications are somewhat different.

There are also a number of other nouns which can take an infinitive. In some of these instances, the verbal noun (usually in the genitive) can be used instead. Because of this overlap, I will deal with these infinitives in comparison to verbal noun structures under 7.2 (see below)

Abstract nouns in conjunct verbs with infinitives for which I have found no verbal noun equivalents (though there is no guarantee) are: নিষেধ *prohibition*, অনুরোধ *request*, শুরু *beginning*, আরম্ভ *beginning*, দুঃখ *sadness, regret*, দেরি *delay*, লজ্জা *embarrassment*, স্বাদ *taste*, ক্ষমতা *power, influence*. Example sentences for and discussion of these are given under 7.2

2.3 with adjectives

There are not a lot of examples for this use and Smith does not mention it, but I think it should be included in a grammar as some of these examples are very common. The verbal noun can also be used in some of these sentences. Syntactically, most of these uses are subject - complement copulative sentences with a zero copula. The adjectives are:

ভাল *good* 2.3.1 সবজি খেতে ভাল। *It is good to eat vegetables.*

খারাপ *bad* 2.3.2 ঝগড়া করতে খারাপ। *It is bad to quarrel.*

তৈরি *ready* 2.3.3 সে কাজ করতে তৈরি। *He is ready to work.*

প্রস্তুত	<i>ready</i>	2.3.4	সে বাইরে যেতে প্রস্তুত হচ্ছে।	<i>He is getting ready to go out.</i>
রাজি	<i>willing, agreeable</i>	2.3.5	আমি তোমাকে নিয়ে যেতে রাজি।	<i>I am willing to take you.</i>
কঠিন	<i>difficult</i>	2.3.6	তার সঙ্গে দেখা করতে কঠিন।	<i>It is difficult to meet with him.</i>
সহজ	<i>easy</i>	2.3.7	সাইকেল চালাতে সহজ।	<i>Riding a bicycle is easy. (all OS)</i>

Apart from তৈরি, প্রস্তুত and রাজি, which have a future-directed component, all of these adjectives could just as easily be used with verbal nouns.

Brother James also gives the following

ইচ্ছুক	<i>willing</i>	2.3.8	আমি মরতে ইচ্ছুক।	<i>I am willing to die.</i>
সুন্দর	<i>beautiful</i>	2.3.9	নদী দেখতে সুন্দর।	<i>The river looks beautiful.</i>
লজ্জিত	<i>embarrassed</i>	2.3.10	আমি এই কথা স্বীকার করতে লজ্জিত।	<i>I am embarrassed to admit this.</i>
বেশ	<i>quite</i>	2.3.11	তোমার কবিতা পড়তে বেশ।	<i>Your poem is nice to read. (p 75f)</i>

2.4 in other idiomatic structures

Smith (p 132f) has some examples of both দেখা *see* and শোনা *hear* in sentences like

2.4.1	কেমন দেখতে ?	<i>What does (it) look like?</i>
2.4.2	শুনতে দোষ কি?	<i>What's the harm in listening?</i>

The syntactic status of these sentences is worth a thought. A subject, as in

2.4.1a)	মেয়েটি কেমন দেখতে?	<i>What does the girl look like?</i>
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can be added, but no finite verb form. This suggests that we have here a copulative sentence with zero verb, parallel to a sentence like মেয়েটি সুন্দর। *The girl is beautiful*, with a possible past tense rendering of

2.4.1b)	মেয়েটি কেমন দেখতে ছিল?
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The infinitive, modified by কেমন, thus has the syntactic function of a sentence complement.

Smith also points out the use of বলতে with the meaning *called, known as, when one says*, eg

2.4.3	শরম বলতে কি কিছু নেই আর?	<i>Is there no longer anything called shame?</i>
2.4.4	এখানে তাঁর প্রাণের দোসর বলতে আর কেউ নেই?	<i>Is there no one else here who can be called his close friend?</i>

Milne also has	2.4.5	বলতে কি, তিনি উপস্থিত হওয়াতে আমার খুব ক্ষতি হইয়াছে।	<i>To tell the truth, his presence has caused me great loss. (p 176)</i>
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I suggest that these idiomatic uses of বলা might be better dealt with on the lexical level.

3. THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE

The present participle, though homonymous with the infinitive, should be treated separately because it is in most cases syntactically quite distinct from it. Chatterji, without any further explanation, says quite categorically 'This -ite [ie the infinitive] of course is entirely different from the present participle affix' (p 1014). I assume that he refers here to the historical development of the two forms. In another

context he points out that, in particular contexts, it may be difficult to decide whether a given -ite form is a present participle or an infinitive (quoted on page 20???)

The present participle in a sentence has a comparable status to an adverb, as I mentioned earlier. This, however, only applies when the subject in both clauses is the same. In the case of two different subjects, eg

3.1 আমি যাইতে যাইতে সে আসলো। *While I was going, he came.*

(Chatterji, p 1000)

the adverbial character is no longer felt. The doubling which often occurs with the present participle indicates continuity of the simultaneous actions or events, but the present participle is by no means always doubled. Chatterji has

3.2 তার এমন ভাই থাকতে সে কষ্ট পায়।

With such a brother living, he suffers. (p 1000)

The present participle is most commonly used to describe an action which is simultaneous to the action of the finite verb, eg

3.3 আমি গান শুনতে শুনতে গাড়ি চালাই। and best translated with *while*, ie

I listen to music while driving the car.

It can also serve to provide a kind of time frame for the action expressed by the finite verb. Chatterji's second example (3.2) can be interpreted in this way. Smith also gives

3.4 দাদু বেঁচে থাকতে এ বাড়িতে বিয়ে হয়েছিলো।

While grandfather was alive a wedding took place in this house.

Followed by the particle *ই* the present participle takes on the meaning *as soon as*. Smith has the following example:

3.5 চোখ খুলতেই লীলা হেসে উঠলো।

As soon as she opened her eyes Lila burst out laughing. (p 134)

Another common use of the present participle is the doubled participle with *না* between the two forms and followed by *ই*. This construction is best translated as *no sooner than*, eg

3.6 দু 'এক বছর যেতে না যেতেই সংসারে প্রচণ্ড অশান্তি শুরু হয়ে যায়।

No sooner had a year or two passed than a great disquiet began in his family life. (Smith, p 134)

Zbavitel has this interesting example (p 56)

3.7 কিন্তু সে তা প্রাণ থাকতে পারব না।

But I shall not be able to do that as long as I live.

The position of the participial clause *প্রাণ থাকতে* lit: *life remaining* within the main clause is unusual, but also shows clearly the need for separating present participle from infinitive uses. Present participle structures, such as this, involve two separate subjects, whereas infinitive structures can only involve one subject. This is, in fact, quite an important argument against treating the two structures as one.

As far as modern novels, both from West Bengal and from Bangladesh, are concerned, the present participle seems always to be doubled when there is only one subject in the sentence. Here are some examples, all taken from 'Uttorer hawa' by Bimal Kar:

3.8 পাতা উলটে উলটে দেখতে লাগলো...

while turning the pages he started to look... (p 56)

3.9 শূয়ে থাকতে থাকতে ভাইয়ের কথা মনে পড়লো।

He thought of his brother while lying down. (p 13)

3.10 বলতে বলতে পবিত্র টেবিল থেকে ম্যাগাজিন তুলে নিলো।

As he was talking Pabitra picked up the magazine from the table (p 11)

3.1.1 বাসন্তী খাম তুলতে তুলতে বলল...

picking up the envelope Bashanti said.... (p 5).

Zbavitel gives a number of examples with single present participle forms in order to show how they fall neatly into either of the following two categories

- there are two different subjects involved, eg

3.12 আমি কাছে যেতে সেও চমকে তাড়াতাড়ি উঠে বসল।

As soon as I went near, he too quickly sat up, startled. (Smith, p 134)

- the non-finite verb form is থাকতে, eg

3.13 সময় থাকতে নিজেকে সামলিয়ে নিও।

Restrain yourself before it is too late. (Zbavitel, p 57)

Counter-examples are sentences 3.5 and 3.9, so no definitive rules can be made, but, based on Zbavitel's examples and sentences taken from modern Bengali novels, there is certainly a tendency towards this use of non-geminated (Zbavitel's term) present participles.

A crucial difference between English and Bengali present participles is that Bengali present participles cannot be used attributively. In fact, the only way to translate an English present participle phrase like *a hard-working man* with a non-finite form in Bengali is to use the verbal adjective একজন কাজ করা মানুষ. This is discussed in section 5. Due to their descriptive properties, present participle structures are much more common in narrative than in spoken language.

4. THE VERBAL NOUN

The verbal noun can be used like any other noun, ie it can take case endings (eg sentences 4.2.1ff and 4.3.1ff) and determiners (eg sentence 4.1.1). There are two morphological forms of the verbal noun. Either আ -a is added to the low stem of the verb, or বা -ba is added. The second form was originally a future tense verbal noun, and apart from one structure with মাত্র, eg দেখবামাত্র *on seeing*, বলবামাত্র *on saying* etc, it is no longer used in the nominative case, but only in the genitive (see section 4.6).

4.1 as sentence subject

Taking together all the different examples for verbal nouns as subjects, a simple way of classifying these uses is to say that verbal nouns can occur as subjects in these three types of sentences:

4.1.1 in ordinary sentences like any other noun, eg

4.1.1.1 এখন মাথা ধরাটা নিমেষের মধ্যে চলে গেছে।

Now the headache disappeared in a moment. (Smith, p 124)

4.1.1.2 তোমার মদ খাওয়া আমার ভাল লাগে না।

I don't like your drinking alcohol. (Radice, p 135)

4.1.2 in equational sentences with adjectival or nominal complements, eg

4.1.2.1 সাঁতার দেওয়া বড় সহজ না। *It is not very easy to swim. (Milne, p 176)*4.1.2.2 হত্যা করা মহা পাপ। *Murder is a great sin. (Milne, p 176)*

4.1.3 in passive sentences

4.1.3.1 আমার নামা হল না।

(lit: My getting down didn't happen) I didn't get down. (Smith, p 124)

Smith's classification of verbal nouns gives a misleading impression. His first section is verbal nouns as sentence subjects (§34.1.1) and his second impersonal uses with হওয়া (§34.1.2). The logically-minded reader will see the two categories as alternatives and conclude, wrongly, that in the second use the verbal nouns are not sentence subjects.

If we are looking at verbal nouns as sentence subjects then Smith's §34.1.2. (impersonal uses with the third person of হওয়া) and §34.1.3 (with উচিত) should also come under this heading.

4.1.1 active sentences

Although this use seems straightforward, examples for it are surprisingly hard to find. Even sentence 4.1.1.2 has an equational element in it. Smith (p 124) has a syntactically similar sentence in

4.1.1.3 তবে সুস্থ হয়ে প্রিয়জনের কাছে ফিরে যাওয়া অনেকের ভাগ্যে ঘটেনি।

*But it wasn't in the fate of many to recover and return to their loved**ones.*

Apart from the two sentences given (4.1.1.1 and 4.1.1.3), all of Smith's other examples in this paragraph are equational (as in 4.1.2) or governed by postpositions (section 4.4), where the verbal noun is not actually the sentence subject, eg

4.4.10 এখানে ফিরে আসা পর্যন্ত আমরা ব্রত পালন করব।

We will keep the vow until we come back here. (p 124)

From this we can conclude that equational (copulative) sentences as well as passive sentences are much more likely to have a verbal noun subject than active sentences.

4.1.2 equational sentences

Sentences with উচিত are syntactically parallel to other structures with adjectival complements, eg sentences 4.1.2.1 and 4.1.2.2. The use of উচিত *should*, *ought* is usually taught and listed, with good reason, together with দরকার *need* and কথা *supposed to*. These semantically related structures are often the students' first introduction to verbal noun use. I have separated উচিত here on the grounds that in sentences with উচিত the verbal noun takes on the role of sentence subject. উচিত is an adjective (both

দরকার and কথা are nouns) and is functionally similar to adjectival complements (section 4.1.2) like কঠিন, ভাল, সুন্দর, as in

4.1.2.3 বলা সহজ, করা কঠিন। *It is easy to say but hard to do.*

4.1.2.4 বেড়ানো ভাল। *Walking is good.* (Brother James, p 60)

An important difference between these structures and sentences with উচিত is that উচিত can be preceded by verbal nouns only whereas with ভাল etc the sentence subject can be any noun, eg

with ভাল ঘুম ভাল। *Sleep is good.*

This may be partly explained by the semantic properties of উচিত, in particular by its modal component, which call for an action or process rather than a thing preceding it. Examples with উচিত are:

4.1.2.5 তা করা কি উচিত নয়? *Shouldn't that be done?* (Milne, p 218)

4.1.2.6 আমাদের আগে আসা উচিত ছিল। *We should have come earlier.* (Smith, p 125)

Due to its inherent modal properties, উচিত does not seem to occur in future tense sentences.

Some adjectival complements can have possessive pronouns preceding their sentence subjects, but, for instance, sentence 4.1.2.4 is more likely to change to

4.1.2.7 বেড়ানো তোমার জন্যে ভাল। *Walking is good for you, rather than*

?তোমার বেড়ানো ভাল। *?Your walking is good.*

A sentence-initial possessive pronoun is acceptable with the following adjectives:

4.1.2.8 তার যাওয়া প্রয়োজনীয়। *His going is necessary.*

4.1.2.9 আমার আর দেরি করা সম্ভব নয়।

I can't delay any longer. (lit: my delaying any longer is not possible)

4.1.2.10 আমার এখানে থাকা উপযুক্ত নয়। *My staying here is not suitable.* (all OS)

and in Dasgupta's example

আপনার চিঠি লেখা শেষ হয়েছে কি?

Have you finished writing your letter?

These types of adjectives are more similar to উচিত in their syntactic behaviour than, say, ভাল, কঠিন etc. They have either a modal or an aspective component and combine well with verbal nouns, but not, as is the case with উচিত, exclusively with verbal nouns.

4.1.3 passive sentences

Verbal nouns with 3rd person forms of যাওয়া (Smith's §39.2.1) also belong here. They are syntactically equivalent to the structures with হওয়া, eg

4.1.3.2 এই দিক দিয়ে যাওয়া যাবে না। *It won't be possible to go this way.*

lit: *the going this way will not go*

4.1.3.3 এখানে কি সবজি পাওয়া যায়? *Are vegetables available here?*

lit: *does getting vegetables go here?*

Semantically, sentences with হওয়া refer to the actual occurrence of events, sentences with যাওয়া to the possibility of their occurrence. Both structures can be used in all tenses, eg

4.1.3.4 নতুন বউকে কাজ করতে বলা হয়েছিল।

The new wife had been told to work. (Smith p 143)

4.1.3.5 কিছু দেখা গেল না। *It wasn't possible to see anything.*

In connection with, say, conditional participles, these structures demonstrate the thriftiness in verbal energy which is so typical of Bengali, eg the English *if it is possible to understand* is in Bengali simply বোঝা গেল.

Seely points to these variations

1. [verbal noun + যেতে + 3rd person of পারা] eg তা বলা যেতে পারে। *One could say that,* and

2. [verbal noun + পারা + 3rd person of যাওয়া] eg তা বলতে পারা যায়।

with the same meaning. There is undoubtedly redundancy, as Seely puts it, in these sentences, but it is an endearing kind of redundancy, and a neat demonstration of the combineability of non-finite forms.

The [vn + 3rd person of যাওয়া] structure is so common that, to the speaker, its semantic impact loses some of its force and the additional use of পারা *be able to* is meant to redress the balance. This is by no means just an uneducated, colloquial usage. Seely gives the following examples:

4.1.3.6 ...রয়েছে বিশুদ্ধ জগত সৃষ্টি করবার প্রয়াস - যাকে কবি -জগত বলা যেতে পারে।

...there remains the urge to create the perfect world - what might be called the poet's world...

4.1.3.7 2310কবিতা রচনার পদ্ধতি সম্পর্কে সংক্ষেপে বলতে পারা যায় এই: ...

Concerning the process of composing poetry, in brief one can say this:...

(both: Jibananda Das, কবিতা প্রসঙ্গে)

There is some disagreement as to whether we are dealing here with genuine passives or with impersonal structures - the difference seems to be somewhat unclear. In order to come to some conclusions on this, we need to take a closer look at the exact definitions of these terms. I intend to do this in chapter 6.

4.2 in the genitive with abstract nouns

4.2.1 with দরকার *need* and কথা *supposed to*

Both these structures are very common in Bengali and are often taught together, but there are important differences between them. Typical example sentences are

4.2.1.1 তোমার কিছু বলার দরকার। *You need to say something.*

4.2.1.2 আমার বাবার আসার কথা। *My father is supposed to come.*

4.2.1.3 কাঠি জ্বালার দরকার নেই।
(*You*) *don't have to light the tinder.* (Smith, p 125)

4.2.1.4 তার সে কাজ করার দরকার ছিল।
He needed to do that work. (Brother James, p 62)

4.2.1.5 সেটা তোমার জানার কথা ছিল না। *You were not supposed to know this.*

A syntactical difference between the two is that দরকার can be preceded by other nouns

4.2.1.6 আমার একটা কলম দরকার। *I need a pen,*

whereas the use of কথা in this sense is restricted to verbal nouns (as is উচিত).

Seely says about কথা : 'it is used with verbal noun + genitive to mean that the action is supposed or scheduled or due to take place or has the possibility of taking place' (p 91) The structure is not mentioned or listed separately in Bengali grammars, nor are there examples for it in dictionaries (Samsad, Bangla Academy). This suggests that from a language-internal point of view, this is just another idiomatic use of কথা, not to be singled out in any way, as for instance the use infinitive + দেওয়া allow would be and is in fact given in the Samsad dictionary. The sentence তার আসার কথা literally means *there is word of his coming*, which can refer to something that has been agreed or arranged or even promised, taking into account (Radice, p 239) that কথা দেওয়া means *promise (give one's word)*. Thus, although this is a useful structure for foreigners to learn in order to become acquainted with genitive verbal noun use, for Bengalis it is likely to be no more than one of the semantically more challenging of the many uses of কথা.

The situation with দরকার is a little more complicated. As mentioned, দরকার can be preceded by nouns other than verbal nouns and these nouns are, more often than not, apparently in the nominative (example 4.2.6). Verbal nouns can also lose their genitive ending, eg

4.2.1.7 আমার বড় জানা দরকার। *I really must know.*

4.2.1.8 তা মাঝে মাঝে দেখা দরকার।

(*You*) *must take a look at that now and then.* (both Smith, p 125)

These uses are either unexplained (Smith) or dismissed as 'sloppy' (as Klaiman would put it). Seely goes so far as to say 'though a noun, দরকার also behaves as if it were an adjective, allowing for the verbal noun without genitive construction', eg

4.2.1.9 এ কথা জেনো যে তোমার পূর্ব বাংলায় গাঁয়ে কিছুকাল কাটানো দরকার।

Believe me, it's important that you spend (lit: you need to spend) a little time in an East Bengal village. (p 358)

None of these explanations are very satisfactory. Taking a closer look at the syntax of sentences with দরকার may take us a step further. Sentence 4.2.6 আমার একটা কলম দরকার could be an equational sentence with দরকার a nominal complement, but this does not work because there is an omitted আছে in this sentence which puts দরকার firmly in the subject seat. If the slot preceding দরকার is filled by a personal pronoun,

4.2.1.10 আমার তোমাকে দরকার। *I need you.* or a question word

4.2.1.11 তোমার কি (কাকে) দরকার? *What (whom) do you need?*

we find an unambiguous direct object. There is in Bengali, usually, no case ending for inanimate objects, which means that in a sentence like 4.2.6 কলম may look like a nominative but is, on the basis of 4.2.10 and 11, more likely to be a direct (accusative) object. Bengali makes no morphological distinction between datives and accusatives, so we tend to refer to an object case, but the semantic distinction of course remains. If we accept this interpretation, we arrive at two alternative structures with দরকার:

- দরকার can be preceded by a genitive, syntactically a genetivus objectivus, comparable to the Latin metus mortis *fear of death* or, as in sentence 4.2.4 *need for doing* something.
- দরকার can be preceded by a direct object

A comparable syntactical situation exists in English sentences like

She doesn't like his evading the issue. or *She doesn't like him evading the issue.*

I don't understand your doing this. or *I don't understand you doing this.*

There is, both in English and in Bengali, a degree of formality involved, ie the genitive structure is more formal, but both structures are acceptable and, what's more, syntactically explicable. This parallel holds only in so far as the alternative case use is concerned. Semantically closer are sentences like

There is no need of your coming. or *There is no need for you to come.*

but these examples are more complex in structure.

Syntactically, this result is unusual for two reasons

- we have a direct object which is, to all intents and purposes, governed by a noun (দরকার)
- there seems to be no other noun in Bengali which behaves in this way

Thus, though this explanation is satisfying in explaining the two different uses of দরকার, it poses syntactical problems. In the absence of a more convincing solution, however, it must be considered at least as a possibility.

4.2.2 with other abstract nouns

In §34.4.1 Smith lists verbal nouns in the genitive used as complements, but all these uses of verbal nouns are actually governed by a particular and limited group of abstract nouns, used as components of conjunct verbs. There is a considerable overlap of these with infinitive structures and it seems appropriate to look at these structures together. In section 2.2 I have tried to show the internal relationship of conjunct verbs of this type in connection with preceding infinitives. The same relationship holds true for their use with genitive verbal noun forms. For the following abstract nouns I have found examples with verbal nouns but not with infinitives: ভান *pretence*, ব্যবস্থা *arrangement*, নিয়ম *custom*, কারণ *reason, cause*, উদ্দেশ্য *purpose*, সম্ভাবনা *possibility*, উপায় *way, means*, রাস্তা *way, road*. Example sentences are given and discussed in section 7.2.

4.3 in the locative

This use of verbal nouns expressing cause is no longer very common in modern, spoken language where, as Zbavitel (p 13) indicates, it is replaced by a finite verb form followed by বলে. But it is still used in written language. McLeod (p 81) has these examples:

4.3.1 তুমি সে কথা বলায় আমার ভাই দুঃখিত হয়েছে।

Because you said that, my brother was grieved.

4.3.2 মিস্ত্রীরা আজ কাজ শেষ না করায় তাদের কাল আবার আসতে হবে।

As the workmen could not finish the work today they will have to come again

tomorrow.

The syntactic logic of a sentence like 4.3.1 is not immediately obvious. If the verbal noun form is taken strictly as a locative, eg তুমি সে কথা বলায় *you, in saying this*, the verbal noun phrase is seen to be similar to a postpositional phrase. This means that we would not expect a second subject, but either of the following two structures, which only have one subject.

- 4.3.1 a) তুমি সে কথা বলায় আমার ভাইকে দুঃখ দিয়েছ।
In your saying this you have hurt my brother. or
 4.3.1 b) তোমার সে কথা বলায় আমার ভাই দুঃখিত হয়েছে।
In your saying this my brother was hurt.

Sentence 4.3.2 fulfils the expected pattern with only one subject, but sentences 4.3.3 and 4.3.4 make it even clearer:

- 4.3.3 রীতা মায়ের চাকরি ছাড়ায় খুব খুশি হয়েছিল।
পত্র পাওয়াতে আমি কলকাতায় গেলাম her giving up her job. (Das, p 84)
 4.3.4 তোমার পত্র পাওয়াতে আমি কলকাতায় গেলাম।
On receipt of your letter I went to Kolkata. (Milne, p 177)

In both these sentences the verbal noun form is linked to a possessive pronoun rather than to a nominative/subject pronoun and the structure therefore seems more logical, but the existence of both these structures has to be registered.

- 4.3.5 তিনি উপস্থিত হওয়াতে আমার খুব ক্ষতি হইয়াছে।
His presence has caused me great loss. (Milne, p 176)

This sentence, again with two different subjects, would in spoken language more likely be:

- 4.3.5 a) তিনি উপস্থিত ছিলেন বলে আমার খুব ক্ষতি হয়েছে।

This use of বলে is given in section 6.5.

4.4 with postpositions

Verbal nouns can, like other nouns, precede a postposition. Their case endings are determined by the postposition which follows them. Thus we can have:

- 4.4.1 মিথ্যা কথা বলা সম্বন্ধে *about lying*
 4.4.2 রাগ করার পরিবর্তে *instead of being angry*
 4.4.3 তার যাওয়ার পরে *after his leaving*

In any given sentence the tense reference is given in the finite verb form and the verbal noun phrase can then be, more appropriately, translated with a finite phrase in English, eg

- 4.4.3 a) তার যাওয়ার পরে আমরা নাস্তা খাব।
We will have breakfast after he leaves. or
 4.4.3 b) তার যাওয়ার পরে আমরা নাস্তা খেয়েছিলাম।
We had breakfast after he left.

Verbal noun combinations with জন্যে *for* are used to express purpose in the same way as infinite structures are, eg instead of

- 2.1.9 তারা আলাপ করতে বসল।
They sat down to talk. (Brother James, p 69) we can say

4.4.4 তারা আলাপ করার জন্যে বসল।

There is a slight difference between these two semantically identical uses, in that the verbal noun structure is more stressed, more pronounced. In this example the infinitive sounds more natural, followed by a simple finite verb form, whereas in the following examples (both Smith, p 127) with more elaborate predicates the verbal noun structures are more appropriate:

4.4.5 সে সব ছবি দেখার জন্য চারপাশে লোকের ভিড় হয়েছে।

A crowd of people has formed all around to see those pictures.

4.4.6 নিজেকে তাজা করে নেবার জন্য অনেকেই কফি হাউসে ঢুকে পড়েন।

Many people drop into the coffee house for refreshments.

With the postposition থেকে, used in a temporal sense, verbal nouns take the genitive, eg

4.4.7 কলেজে অধ্যাপনা করার থেকেই এই অভ্যাসটা হয়ে গেছে।

He has had this habit since he taught in college. (Smith)

Verbal nouns behave differently from other nouns in connection with the postposition পর্যন্ত *until*, where the verbal noun is often, but not always, preceded by the negative না:

4.4.8 মোটর না থামা পর্যন্ত অপেক্ষা করতে থাকে।

(They) are waiting until the car stops. (Smith, p 83)

4.4.9 সেখানে না যাওয়া পর্যন্ত কিছু করতে পারব না।

I won't be able to do anything until I go there. (Milne, p 256)

but these are also possible:

4.4.10 ট্রেন আসা পর্যন্ত... *until the train comes...* (Samsad)

4.4.11 এখানে ফিরে আসা পর্যন্ত আমরা ব্রত পালন করব।

We will keep the vow until we come back here. (Smith, p 124)

Smith also gives this rather tricky example

4.4.12 উনি আসা পর্যন্ত বসুন।

and, with a different postposition, Seely has

4.4.13 তুমি এটা কেনবার পরে আমি আসব।

After you buy this, I shall come.

As in sentences 4.3.1 and 4.3.5 we have here a verbal noun form in connection with a nominative pronoun without a finite verb to form a clause, ie the verbal noun has its own subject. In all these cases a possessive pronoun, eg তাঁর আসা পর্যন্ত... would have seemed more logical. Neither Smith nor Seely offer any kind of explanation for these structures. A closer syntactic analysis is needed, but as these examples are rather isolated I will have to leave them for the moment until a clearer pattern emerges.

4.5 used attributively

Bengali nouns in the genitive can be used attributively with other nouns. This is very common in cases where English uses compound nouns, eg *heart-ache* মনের ব্যথা, *sleep deprivation* ঘুমের অভাব, *wartime* যুদ্ধের সময়, *hand writing* হাতের লেখা. Verbal nouns can be used in the same way and in these contexts often have an element of purpose or intent, eg

- 4.5.1 মাংস কাটার ছুরি *knife for cutting meat*
 4.5.2 বসবার ঘর *sitting room* (Smith, p 126)
 4.5.3 লেখবার টেবিল *writing table* (Smith, p 126)
 4.5.4 বিক্ষা দেবার চাল *rice set aside for giving as alms* (Chatterji, p 1019)

Three out of these four examples employ the future tense verbal noun and though, in the genitive, future and present verbal noun forms can often be used alternatively, there is good reason for these uses here.

4.6 future verbal nouns

The future tense verbal noun is, in most grammar books, only mentioned in passing as an alternative to the present tense verbal noun. The only remaining use of future tense verbal nouns in the nominative is in combinations with *মাত্র* *only*, corresponding to *as soon as*, but even in these cases it alternates with the present tense form, eg

- with future vn 4.6.1 এই কথা শুনবামাত্র চলিয়া গেল।
He went off as soon as he heard this. (Milne, p 178)
 4.6.2 আমি ঘরে ঢোকবামাত্র সে জিজ্ঞেস করল..
As soon as I entered the room he asked... (Smith, p 125)
 with present vn 4.6.3 সন্ধ্যা হওয়ামাত্র শর্মা বেড়িয়ে পড়লো।
As soon as it was evening Sharma went out.

In the genitive the future can be used instead of the present tense form without any change in meaning. Smith (p 126f) has these mixed examples

- with present vn 4.6.4 আপনার কি কিছু বলার আছে? *Have you something to say?*
 4.6.5 যা করার আমি করছি। *I am doing what has to be done.*
 4.6.6 সেখানে দেখার কিছু নেই। *There is nothing to see there.*
 with future vn 4.6.7 যা হবার তা হয়ে গিয়েছে। *That which was going to happen,*
has happened.
 4.6.8 এখন যা করবার করো। *Do what has to be done now.*

These sentences are probably representative of the quantitative distribution of these verbal noun forms, ie the future tense forms with their special future-directed semantic component are in decline. Their gerundival meaning *that which is to be done*, is losing some of its impact in modern Bengali. This could indicate a gradual phasing out of the future verbal noun form, but it is unlikely to be replaced entirely by present verbal nouns as they do not have the same semantic force. Zbavitel says 'the gerundival meaning is the only one reserved exclusively to the future verbal noun, which is irreplaceable by a present verbal noun, in this function', but modifies this by pointing to the 'loss, or at least weakening of the awareness of this difference between present and future verbal nouns' (p 41). If we accept Zbavitel's assumption that the future verbal noun is not going to survive in Bengali, then what structures are likely to replace it in its gerundival use?

In sentence 4.6.8 the obvious alternative to the verbal noun structure is an infinitive + হওয়া construction, ie এখন যা করতে হবে করে। This sentence has an explicit compulsory element but, even without that, infinitives are most likely to replace these future verbal noun structures from a semantic point of view. They can express the same future-directed intent or purpose as future verbal noun forms:

2.1.12 আমি তাস খেলতে আসবো। *I will come to play cards.*

In real use we will also find present tense verbal nouns, eg

4.6.9 আমার আর কিছু করার থাকে না।

Nothing more remains for me to do. (Smith, p 127)

This sentence could also, and with perhaps more impact, read আমার আর কিছু করতে থাকে না। with an infinitive.

5. THE VERBAL ADJECTIVE

The verbal adjective represents the past passive participle, ie বানানো as an adjective means *having been prepared*. Verbal adjectives are homonymous with verbal noun forms, but are used attributively or predicatively with nouns. Zbavitel says 'In many cases these verbal adjectives have become so common that it is difficult to decide whether any verbal element is still felt in them' (p 47).

Ordinary adjectives, like nouns, can take the determiners টা or গুলো in an appropriate context. This is, in effect, a nominalisation of adjectives. For instance, when asked

5.1 কোনটা/গুলো নেবেন? *Which one(s) will you take?*

the answer can be	বড়টা	<i>the big one,</i>	নরমগুলো	<i>the soft ones,</i>
	নতুনগুলো	<i>the new ones,</i>	ভালোটা	<i>the good one,</i>
	কাঁচাগুলো	<i>the unripe ones,</i>	লালগুলো	<i>the red ones,</i>
	সুন্দরটা	<i>the beautiful one</i>	etc.	

With verbally derived adjectives the definite articles টা and গুলো can be used with the following:

পাকাটা	<i>the ripe one,</i>	ভাঙ্গাটা	<i>the broken one,</i>
ভিজাগুলো	<i>the wet ones,</i>	রং করাটা	<i>the coloured one,</i>

possibly with

খোলা	<i>open</i>	5.2	মিষ্টি খেতে চাইলে খোলাগুলো আগে খাও। <i>If you want to eat sweets, eat the ones that have been opened first.</i>
কাটা	<i>cut</i>	5.3	কোন কেক দেব? কাটাটা। <i>Which cake should I give? The one that's been cut.</i>
গোনা	<i>count</i>	5.4	কোন টাকা নিয়েছে। গোনাগুলো। <i>Which money did he take? The money that was counted.</i>
কেনা	<i>buy</i>	5.5	কোন শার্ট পরবে? গতকালের কেনাটা। <i>Which shirt will you wear? The one bought yesterday.</i>

Deriving adjectives from verbs only to make them into nouns seems a complicated procedure, when nouns can be derived from verbs directly and when, morphologically, the forms remain the same, but

there is an important difference in meaning, ie কেনা as a verbal noun means *the buying* (active), whereas the product of verb → adjective → noun means *the one that has been bought* (passive and perfective).

This kind of structure is possible with quite a number of, but by no means all, Bengali verbs, eg with a verb like দেওয়া *give* 5.6 মাকে দেওয়া কথা ... *the promise made to mother*
is possible, but কোন কথা? *which promise?-*

* মাকে দেওয়াটা ... *the one made to mother (?)*

sounds unlikely. The more natural answer to the question কোন কথা? *which promise?* would be

আমি মাকে যা দিয়েছি *the one I made to mother,*

with a finite verb form in a relative clause.

The initial hypothesis that verbal adjective formation is restricted to transitive verbs turns out to be wrong, as পাকা *ripen* is an intransitive verb. Equally,

5.7 মরা গাছ *dead tree* 5.8 ভাঙ্গা ডাল *broken branch*

5.9 বাঁকা ছুরি *bent knife* 5.10 থামা গাড়ি *car that has been stopped*

are all derived from intransitive verbs.

In contradiction to Zbavitel's statement above I find that even with a well established verbal adjective like পাকা *ripe* the verbal connection remains strong. When asked

5.11 আমগুলো কি পাকা? (adjective) *Are the mangoes ripe?,*

a negative answer is likely to be

না, এখনো পাকে নি। (verb) *No, they haven't ripened yet,*

rather than

না, এখনো পাকা হয় নি। (adjective) *No, they are not yet ripe.*

Attributive examples for verbal adjectives (mainly from Smith):

5.12 ফুটানো পানি *boiled water*

5.13 ময়দা দিয়ে বানানো রুটি *bread made with flour*

5.14 আঁকা ছবি *drawn picture*

5.15 নাম করা কবি *famous (lit: having made name) poet*

5.16 লেখাপড়া জানা ছেলে *educated boy*

5.17 বই থেকে নেওয়া গল্প *story taken from a book* (TYB, p 153).

5.18 এই সব বাদ দেওয়া শব্দ *all the omitted words* (TYB, p 153)

As can be seen from examples like 5.15 নাম করা কবি *famous poet* and 5.16 লেখাপড়া জানা ছেলে *educated boy* the passive aspect of verbal adjectives can change to an active meaning. Zbavitel has more of these examples - most of them are not ordinary everyday language but their occurrence should be noted:

5.19 বাপ মা মারা ছেলে *child whose parents have died*

5.20 ইংরেজি শেখা লোক *man who has learnt English*

5.21 কপি করতে পারা মেয়ে *girl who can copy* (most unusual!)

5.22 পায়ে চলা রাস্তা *footpath* (all p 48)

which is just a roundabout way of saying হাঁটার রাস্তা *a road for walking.*



The question remains of how productive these structures are. If one can say

5.21 কপি করতে পারা মেয়ে, is it also possible to say

5.23 আইস ক্রিম খেতে চাওয়া ছেলে the boy who wants to eat ice-cream ?

This opens up unexpected possibilities, but I would not consider these ordinary language uses. However, the sentences show the potential of the verbal adjective to take on active meaning and also to lose its perfective element. It is thus semantically linked to the present participle, which cannot be used attributively in Bengali. Earlier on we found conditional participles 'standing in' for perfective participles when there is more than one subject in the sentence (examples 1.2.1 and 1.2.2). Here again, we have a case of one verb form 'helping out' where particular syntactic restrictions apply. For an English present participle, eg *the singing boy* the closest Bengali equivalent is a verbal adjective গান করা ছেলে.

Smith gives, under the predicative uses of verbal adjectives: সব তার জানা আছে . . . This is more likely to be a verbal noun, forming the subject of the sentence, ie *he has the knowing*.

Predicative uses of verbal adjectives are:

5.24 দরজা সারাদিন খোলা থাকে। The door stays open all day.

5.25 তার কথাবার্তা উলটা। What he says doesn't make sense.

(lit: his words are upside down)

5.26 কাপড়চোপড় সবগুলো ভিজা।

The clothes are all wet. (all Sableski, p 441)

The verbal form মারা is suitably classified as a verbal adjective in example 5.19, but Sutton-Page also calls this a past passive participle (ie an adjective!) in the sentence

5.27 সে মারা গেছে। He's dead. (p 157)

The main argument against this is the fact that no other adjective, verbally derived or otherwise, combines directly with যাওয়া, without the perfective participle হয়ে to make the connection, such as বড় হয়ে যাওয়া *grow up*, ভিজা হয়ে যাওয়া *get wet* etc.

Seely (p 134), surprisingly, links মারা যাওয়া with verbal noun + 3rd person form of যাওয়া to express possibility, as in পাওয়া যায় *available*. In মারা যাওয়া, not only is the semantic component of possibility lost, but the syntactic element of passivity is also absent. সে মারা গেছে *he has died* is clearly, syntactically at least, an active sentence and different from তাকে ডাক দেওয়া যায় *he can be called* where no active agent is given and তাকে *him* is the object of the verb.

I think মারা যাওয়া needs to be considered a fixed verbal phrase. The grammatically expected মরে যাওয়া is also used, though more for plants and animals. But for humans মারা যাওয়া is the more common form.

6. THE PERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE (pp)

The perfective participle is by far the most common of Bengali non-finite verb forms. Chatterji gives a sentence with fifteen perfective participle forms and one finite verb and says 'There is nothing unusual in a Bengali sentence like:

ভোরে উঠে, স্নান সেরে চারটি খেয়ে নিয়ে, জিনিষগুলো সঙ্গে বেঁধে নিয়ে গাড়িতে চড়িয়ে দিয়ে' etc, etc (p 1011)

It is not worth giving the whole sentence or translating it, and the sentence is so unusual that it is almost as famous as 'supercalifragilistic....', though perhaps not in the same circles, but Chatterji is making the point that the perfective participle is a very common and characteristic feature of Bengali. In active sentences its use is restricted to sequences of actions or events with the same subject.

Perfective participles are also used for making compound verbs, where the perfective participle forms a closer link with the finite verb form. Instead of a sequence of events we have one action or event, with the perfective participle carrying the main meaning and the sentence-final verb carrying tense, agreement, and sometimes aspectual information. In some cases the sentence-final verb can lose its own lexical meaning altogether. Compound verbs are dealt with in a separate chapter.

The Bengali perfective participle has the following functions:

6.1 describing preceding actions or events

In sentences with two or more verbs the perfective participle is used to refer to the earlier verbal action in a temporal sequence of events. Any Bengali verb can be used in this structure. The perfective participle is an active verb form and English equivalents to করে, বলে, গিয়ে are *having done, having said, having gone*. In English you can form a sentence like

Having arrived at the station, he went to buy his ticket.

but the structure sounds clumsy and unnatural, compared to the easy, elegant and idiomatic perfective participle structure in Bengali:

6.1.1 ইষ্টেশনে পৌঁছিয়ে তার টিকেট কেটে গেল।

No wonder these structures are so popular in Bengali! In order to avoid this type of 'school-boy Latin' in English, Bengali perfective participles are best translated with connecting conjunctions like *and, after, then* etc. Examples are:

6.1.2 তারপর কিছুটা হেঁটে ঘাসের উপর গিয়ে বসল।

After that they walked a bit, went onto the grass and sat down.

6.1.3 আমি কাজ সেরে ওখানে দাঁড়িয়ে থাকবো।

When I finish the job, I'll be standing there. (all Smith, p 135)

and this, both syntactically and politically, rather extreme example

6.1.4 গুজব রটে যে, মিশনারীরা ছেলেদের ভুলিয়ে ধরে নিয়ে গিয়ে খৃষ্টান করছেন।

Rumour has it that the missionaries are tricking the boys, seizing them, taking them away and making them Christians. (all Smith, p 135)

In negative sentences a negated perfective participle can describe either a preceding action, as in

6.1.5 অনুমতি না পেয়ে যেয়ো না।

Don't go until you have got permission.

or it can express manner (see 6.3) and is then best translated as *without*, eg

6.1.6 না খেয়ে থাকতে পারি না।

We can't live without eating. (both Brother James, p 87)

6.2 describing simultaneous actions or events

Instead of a temporal sequence the perfective participle can describe an action or event which is simultaneous with that of the main verb. Smith says that this is always true when the perfective participle is a stative verb but active perfective participles are just as common. These are his examples:

6.2.1 দুজনে নাক ডেকে ঘুমাচ্ছিলো।

Both were snoring as they slept. (p 135)

6.2.2 দাওয়ার কিনারে বসে সে হাত ধুচ্ছে।

Sitting at the side of the courtyard, he is washing his hands.

(p 159)

6.2.3 অনেকে ওর দিকে তাকিয়ে দেখল।

Many people stared at her. (p 134)

6.2.4 আমি আর আমার বন্ধু বিমল দৌড়ে পালানাম।

I and my friend Bimal ran away. (p 134)

Sentences 6.2.3 and 6.2.4 could almost be considered examples for compound verbs as the respective verb forms are practically synonymous and translate into English as one semantic unit. They are not acceptable as compound verbs only because neither দেখা *see* nor পালানো *flee* are among the verbs which are defined as compound makers in Bengali. But their use in these sentences shows that the boundaries between what can or cannot be a compound maker are more flexible, and our definitions more arbitrary than we like to think.

The demarcation line between this and the adverbial use of perfective participles is sometimes blurred. In sentence 6.2.1, for instance, নাক ডেকে *snoring* could be seen as an adverbial phrase expressing manner rather than as a simultaneous occurrence. The distinction between the two uses serves to draw attention to adverbial structures which do not involve an element of time (see below).

6.3 used adverbially

The perfective participle can, syntactically, assume adverbial character and express, semantically, manner, temporal circumstances or cause of the main verbal action. In these cases it loses its perfective aspect. Examples for adverbials expressing manner are:

6.3.1 নিজে খেতে উপার্জন করে খাবে।

He will earn his money by his own hard work (Zbavitel, p 67)

6.3.2 আমরা নৌকা করে এসেছি।

We have come by boat. (Sutton-Page, p 157)

The perfective participle করে *having done* is commonly used to turn adjectives or nouns into adverbs, eg ভাল করে *well*, সাবধান করে *carefully*.

Other verbs are

6.3.3 দেয়ালের দিকে মুখ ফিরিয়ে খায়।

He eats with his face turned towards the wall. (Smith, p 135)

Milne also gives

6.3.4 এক পরসা লইয়া এত বিবাদ কেন?

Why so much bickering about a penny? (p 181)

but লইয়া (or নিয়ে) in this case is a postposition with পরস্যা as an object. The sentence has nothing to do with a description of manner.

A negated perfective participle can be used to express *without, instead of*, eg

6.3.5 কোনো চেষ্টা না করে এমন স্বামী ব্যাগে পুরেছিল।

You have bagged such a husband without making any effort.

(Smith, p 136)

6.3.6 ভাত না খেয়ে খালি মাংস চায়।

He just wants meat instead of rice. (OS)

The perfective participle can describe temporal circumstances. Rather than giving a preceding or simultaneous verbal action this participle construction provides either a time frame or a temporal reference for the action of the finite verb. This use is perhaps best classified as a sub-category of adverbial uses of manner. The dividing line between the two categories is sometimes blurred, for instance in this sentence

6.3.7 গল্পটা একটু একটু করে আমাদের বলে দেবে।

He will tell us the story bit by bit (in instalments) (Das, p 76)

there is a temporal element, but as in sentence 6.3.9 (see below) the perfective participle describes the manner of the sentence predicate. In the following sentence the temporal element is less ambiguous, ie the perfective participle does not give the manner, but the time reference of the finite verb:

6.3.8 আমাদের কিছুক্ষণ করে বিশ্রাম করতে হচ্ছে।

We must rest awhile. (Smith, p 72)

A note on করে: In the chapter on postpositions করে is not considered to be a postposition in Bengali because in many of its uses a separate preceding or simultaneous action is involved (eg sentence 6.3.1 and 2) There are, however, a number of uses which would require some semantic acrobatics in order to be considered separate actions, as in these sentences (all from Milne, p 444)

6.3.9 তাহার পরে একটু একটু করিয়া পরিচয় পাওয়া গেল।

Then, by and by, we came to know him.

6.3.10 আমি তাকে থাকিতে কত করে বললাম।

I used every possible entreaty to induce him to stay.

6.3.11 কথাটা গোরাতে হঠাৎ যেন নতুন করিয়া ঠেকিল।

The idea suddenly struck Gora in quite a new light.

In these sentences, as well as in expressions like হঠাৎ করে *suddenly*, দয়া করে *kindly*, কেমন করে *how*, একটা করে *one by one*, বিশেষ করে *especially* etc করে goes semantically beyond a perfective participle and ought to be given a different status. The difficulty in considering it a postposition lies not so much in the fact that it doesn't translate into English with one equivalent preposition, but in that it combines with a variety of nouns, adjectives, interrogative and even adverbs (হঠাৎ *suddenly*), and generates an adverbial rather than a postpositional phrase.

Examples expressing cause are:

6.3.12 দুশক্রেণশ পথ চলিয়া পায়ে বেদনা হইয়াছে।

I have pain in my feet because I have travelled 20 miles. (Milne, p 181)

6.3.13 রাত্রি জাগিয়ে আমার অসুখ হইয়াছে।

I am ill because I was awake during the night. (Milne, p 181)

Although there is clearly a causal relationship in these sentences, the perfective aspect of the participle is still felt, ie there is still the element of one action preceding another. The same is true for some of the sentences Smith classifies as describing manner, for instance

6.3.14 বড় ছেলেটা সামনে এসে সোজা হয়ে দাঁড়ালো।

The eldest boy came and stood up straight in front of him. (p 135)

It may therefore be more appropriate to classify these uses as containing an additional semantic element rather than as an alternative to the uses given in 6.1.

6.4 with ই and ও

Perfective, like conditional, participles can be followed by ই or ও, ই for emphasis, ও for concessive force. Followed by ই the perfective participle can take on the meaning *as soon as, just then*.

6.4.1 আমি বিছানায় শুয়েই ঘুমিয়ে পড়লাম।

As soon as I lay on the bed I fell asleep. (Brother James, p 89)

6.4.2 বাড়ি গিয়েই একথা বাপকে বলে দিও।

Tell this to father as soon as you get home. (Milne, p 182)

but it can also simply add emphasis, eg

6.4.3 আমার ভাই পুরনো বাড়িতে শাড়িটা দিয়েই আসবেন।

My brother is going to take (for sure) the sari over to the old house.

(Seely, p 103)

Structures with a concessive ও following a perfective participle are best translated with *although, even though*. They are not as common as conditional participles with ও, but they imply that the preceding action has, in fact, taken place.

6.4.4 এতো জেনেও এমন নির্বাক।

Even though he knows so much, he is so silent. (Smith, p 137)

6.4.5 আমি গিয়েও তাকে দেখতে পেলাম না।

Although I went there I could not see him. (Brother James, p 88)

In present tense sentences this use can be semantically identical to the conditional participle use:

6.4.6 শাস্তি পেয়েও সে কাঁদে না। *Even if he is punished, he doesn't cry.*

Milne (p 182) gives a number of examples in which the perfective participle followed by ও and the finite verb form are from the same verb. These combinations result in some interesting semantic interpretations. Sentences are of this type:

6.4.7 তিনি আপনার পুত্রের দোষ দেখিয়াও দেখিলেন না।

Though he saw his own son's fault, he overlooked it.

6.4.8 তুমি কাজটা করিয়াও করিলে না।

Though you did the work, you did not do it properly.

6.4.9 তাহারা একথা শনিয়াও শুনিল না।

They heard this but paid no attention to it.

6.5 uses of বলে

Smith lists the following uses for the perfective participle of বলে :

- as a quotation marker, eg

6.5.1 ভূত বলে কিছু নেই। *There is nothing called a 'ghost'.*

- corresponding to 'as', eg

6.5.2 তাদের পরিবারের সুন্দর বলে খ্যাতি আছে। in this case better translated with 'for':

Their family have a reputation for being beautiful.

- with double objects after copular verbs, eg

6.5.3 তাকে বড় বেশি ভালো মানুষ বলে মনে হয়।

We (implied) consider him to be an extremely good man.

- at the end of a clause to mark speech clauses, eg

6.5.4 মিথ্যা বলেছে বলে মনে হয় না। *I don't think that he was lying.*

- at the end of a clause meaning *because*, eg

6.5.5 বাস বন্ধ ছিলো বলে হেঁটে ফিরছিলো।

She returned on foot because the buses had stopped.

- at the end of a clause corresponding to *in order to*, eg

6.5.6 এটা মাকে দেখাব বলে বাড়ি নিয়ে যাচ্ছি।

I'm taking this home to show it to mother.

Milne (p 406) also has these examples with *কি বলে* in the meaning of *how*. I think in all these cases the use of *কি করে* would be more usual:

6.5.7 তুমি কি বলিয়া এরূপ দুষ্ট ছেলের সহিত খেলিতে পার।

How can you play with such naughty children?

6.5.8 তুমি কি বলে আর সেখানে মুখ দেখাইবে।

On what pretext will you show your face there again?

Smith's classifications are based mainly on semantic criteria. From a syntactic viewpoint sentences 1-3 and 7-8 are structures where বলে retains at least some of its perfective participle features. More interesting are sentences 4-6 where বলে follows a finite verb form and it is in these occurrences that বলে establishes its status as a conjunction in Bengali. Since all of these are idiomatic uses of just one verb, I suggest that they be dealt with on the lexical rather than the grammatical level.

6.6 same subject condition (Klaiman)

'A past participle in the first clause with a finite verb in the second clause can only be used if the subject of both the participle and the finite verb is the same' (McLeod, p 39)

This claim is widely supported, eg by Chatterji, Dimock, Milne and Zbavitel. In sentences that require different subjects the conditional participle can be used to express a temporal sequence of events (eg বৃষ্টি শেষ হলে আমরা যাবো। *We will go when the rain has finished.*) - so, apparently, there is little need for using the perfective participle in sentences with more than one subject. However, on closer inspection, it becomes clear that there is a need to differentiate between types of sentences. The 'same subject condition' (SSC, Klaiman) applies to active sentences, ie sentences where the perfective participle and the finite verb express consecutive actions.

Mimi Klaiman, in her book *Volitionality and Subject in Bengali* gives a detailed analysis of sentences where the perfective participle and the finite verb have different subjects. All example sentences in this section, unless otherwise attributed, are Klaiman's.

Her first sentence - and this is the only example of an all-active sentence - is a case of what she calls 'sloppy identity', eg

6.6.1 জদুর সঙ্গে হোটলে গিয়ে আমরা দুজনে মাছ খেলাম।

When I went to the restaurant with Jodu, we both ate fish.

Though there is some referential overlap between the two subjects (I -we), they are grammatically quite separate. A similarly 'sloppy' situation exists when both verb forms refer to the same subject but in different cases, eg

6.6.2 অফিসে লুকিয়ে আমার অনেক বই পড়া হয়েছে।

Though the logical subject of both verb forms is *I*, the second clause আমার অনেক বই পড়া হয়েছে is a passive structure with বই *book* as its grammatical subject. The sentence is best translated as

I have read a lot of books secretly at the office.

Another similar example is

6.6.3 ওষুধ খেয়ে তার ফল হয়েছে।

Taking the medicine has benefited him.

The following sentence is from a modern Bengali novel *Uttorer hawa* by Binal Kar :

6.6.4 বার বার চেষ্টা করেও মোমবাতির আলোগুলো জ্বালিয়ে রাখা যাচ্ছিলো না।

However much she tried (pp) it wasn't possible to keep the candles lit (p 151).

Again, the second clause is a passive structure.

Klaiman gives the following examples, but claims that they are no exception to the SSC because 'the dative subjects of these clauses, though not overt, are nevertheless coreferential with the subjects of the respective reduced clauses'. (p 109)

6.6.5 রেগে কি হবে? *What is accomplished by getting angry?*

6.6.6 মাথা ঘামিয়ে দরকার নেই।

There is no point in worrying your head.

6.6.7 কি লাভ চিঠি জমিয়ে জমিয়ে?

What does it profit one letting letters pile up?

6.6.8 বাসে না গিয়ে উপায় কি?

What is the alternative to going on the bus?

Smith (p 136) has two very similar examples with উপায়:

6.6.9 না উঠে উপায় ছিল না। *There was nothing to do but get up.*

6.6.10 পুরো স্পীডে মোটর না চালিয়ে উপায় নেই।

There was naught to do save drive the car at full speed.

Klaiman's interpretation of these structures may be a logical part of her dative subject theory, but structurally it is untenable. There certainly is coreferentiality in a sentence like 6.6.3 ওষধ খেয়ে তার ফল হলো, but in sentence 6.6.5 রেগে কি হবে? it is not at all clear what কি হবে refers to. If the sentence is extended to

6.6.11 রেগে বাচ্চাদের কি হবে?

What will happen to the children if you (implied) get angry,

the subjects are clearly not coreferential.

The same is true for sentences 6.6.6 to 6.6.8. The use of the perfective participle in sentence 6.6.6, though acceptable, is not as common as the verbal noun in the genitive would be, ie মাথা ঘামানোর দরকার নেই।

Another condition for the SSC to apply is, according to Klaiman, the animacy of the subject. That is, the perfective participle can be used in sentences with different subjects, as long as these subjects are inanimate, eg

6.6.12 ঘরে বৃষ্টি প্রবেশ করে কাঠের মেঝে নষ্ট হলো। translated as

The rain entered the room and the wooden floor was ruined.

In the following paragraph, however, Klaiman states that a human subject can also occur in this context, ie as the 'subject' of the finite verb form, as long as it is used in a passive construction, eg

6.6.13 ট্যাক্স বেড়ে গিয়ে অনেকের কষ্ট হয়েছে।

Taxes have increased and many people have had difficulties.

Klaiman is conservative in her translation of these sentences, when the causal relationship between the two clauses is so obvious. I suggest the two sentences should be translated as

6.6.12 *The wooden floor was ruined by the rain entering the room. and*6.6.13 *Many people have had difficulties through the tax increase.*

In conclusion of these considerations, the rules for the use of the perfective participle should be reformulated as follows:

- the same subject condition applies in active sentences, but can sometimes be neglected if
 - the two subjects are at least partly coreferential (sentence 6.6.1), or if
 - the same subject is referred to in different cases (6.6.2 and 6.6.3)
- the same subject condition does not apply if the finite verbal clause contains
 - a passive structure (6.6.2, 3, 4, 12 and 13), with either
 - an inanimate subject (6.6.2, 3, 4 and 12) or
 - a human subject in oblique case (6.6.13)

- an impersonal structure (6.6.5 to 10)

Again, we come up against the somewhat unclear dividing lines between passive and impersonal structures, but in this case the distinction is not essential as the same subject conditions apply to both equally. However, a clearer definition of these structures is a crucial factor in understanding Bengali sentence structures (see chapter 6).

7. SUMMARY

7.1 COMBINATIONS AND OVERLAP OF NON-FINITE VERB FORMS

The previous sections consisted of a one-by-one analysis of non-finite verb forms and have established, to some extent, their different uses, semantic implications and syntactic restrictions. The next step is to bring this information together in order to establish the way in which non-finite verb forms interact with one another and in how they overlap or can be used alternatively. The research questions are

- which non-finite verb forms can be used together and how do they syntactically interact with one another?
- which non-finite verb forms can be used alternatively and what are the semantic implications?
- what other connections exist between any two non-finite verb forms?

This may give us a clearer overall picture of the non-finite half of the Bengali verbal system. The verb forms are dealt with in the same order as before, ie 1 conditional participle (cond part), 2 infinitive, 3 present participle, 4 verbal noun (vn), 5 verbal adjective (this does not form combinations with other non-finite forms) and 6 perfective participle (pp). The list reduces itself as it progresses (1 compared to 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; 2 compared to 3, 4, 5, 6 etc)

1 conditional participle

The conditional participle can combine with these non-finite verb forms, eg

1-2 with infinitives

- a) সে তোমাকে যেতে দিলে... *if he lets you go*

in infinitive + গৈলে structures (1.4)

- b) বলতে গৈলে translated as *in fact*

in infinite + হওয়া structures (2.1), denoting obligation:

- c) তোমাকে তার সঙ্গে দেখা করতে হলে...

If you have to meet with her...

In infinitive + আছে structures implying permission, a conditional participle is less likely to appear. The strangeness of

- d) ?ওখানে যেতে থাকলে...

if it is allowed to go there ...

lies in the semantic ambiguity of থাকা in this context.

Conditional participle and infinitive combinations are possible in all cases where an infinitive is governed by another verb (section 2.1), noun or adjective

- e) কলকাতা দেখতে তোমার এতো সাধ থাকলে....

If you have such a desire to see Calcutta ... (sentence 2.2.3)

- f) সে বাইরে যেতে প্রস্তুত হলে...

If he is getting ready to go out ... (sentence 2.3.4)

The conditional participle, by replacing a finite verb form, changes a main clause into a dependent conditional or temporal clause without affecting the interdependent relationships among the sentence components.

1-3 with present participles

- a) সে রেডিও শুনতে শুনতে চালালে...

If he drives with the radio on (listening to the radio)...

Syntactically, the present participle is more likely to appear in the same sentence function as the conditional participle and to offer an alternative structure, eg

conditional participle

- b) আমি চিঠি লিখলে

if (when) I write a letter...

present participle

- c) আমি চিঠি লিখতে লিখতে

while I am writing a letter...

1-4 with verbal nouns

Combinations occur especially in passive structures. The verbal noun forms the sentence subject with conditional participle forms of হওয়া and যাওয়া, eg

- a) তার সঙ্গে দেখা হলে *if I see him*

- b) বইটা আনা গেলে *if it is possible to bring the book...*

The verbal noun can form an object in a conditional sentence, but in these cases the connection between the two non-finite forms is not strong:

- c) গাড়ি চালানো শিখলে *if (you) learn to drive*

Equally, genitive verbal nouns in connection with conjunct verbs can be used in conditional clauses but the real connection is between the verbal noun and the following noun, not between the two verb forms

- d) তোমার যাওয়ার ইচ্ছা হলে *if you want to go*

Verbal nouns and conditional participles can be used alternatively in structures with চলা with a semantic component of acceptability. The equivalent conditional participle uses are discussed in section 1.6. Examples are

with conditional participle e) একটুও সময় নষ্ট করলে চলবে না।

One shouldn't waste even a little time. (Smith, p 142)

with verbal noun

- f) আর হোটেলের থাকা চলবে না।

It will no longer be possible to stay in the hotel.

- g) এখানে সব কিছু করা চলে।

Everything may be done here. (Smith, p 144)

These sentences are, of course, very similar to verbal noun + যাওয়া structures expressing possibility, but I think that the comparison with conditional structures is also justified.

1-5 **verbal adjectives** are by definition linked to nouns, either predicatively or attributively, and do not form direct links with other non-finite verb forms. They will not be considered further, except in comparison with verbal nouns.

1-6 **perfective participles** combine readily and easily with other non-finite forms. Examples with conditionals are:

a) এটা শেষ করে আসলে... *if you come after finishing this*

b) এসব রেখে বাসে গেলে... *if you leave all this and go on the bus*

It is important here to distinguish between sequential contexts and those where the perfective participle is part of a compound verb, as in

c) কবিতা বুঝিয়ে দিলে... *if you explain the poem*

where there is a much stronger connection between the two non-finite forms than there is in the previous sentences.

Perfective participles cannot generally be used in active sentences with more than one subject - in these cases the conditional participle can step into the breach and assume a temporal rather than a conditional meaning, eg

with perfective participle d) আমি কলকাতায় গিয়ে তার সঙ্গে দেখা করব।

I will meet with him when I go to Kolkata.

with conditional participle e) আমি কলকাতায় গেলে সেও যাবে।

When I go to Kolkata he will come, too.

2 infinitive

2-3 and **present participle** are identical in form. They are neither used together nor alternatively, but there has been a lack of criteria for making a clear distinction between the two. From the findings in this chapter the following can be stated with some confidence:

- Geminated, ie doubled, uses are always present participles.

a) শুয়ে থাকতে থাকতে ভাইয়ের কথা মনে পড়লো।

He thought of his brother while lying down.

- In sentences with more than one subject the non-finite form is always a present participle.

b) দাদু বেঁচে থাকতে এ বাড়িতে বিয়ে হয়েছিলো।

While grandfather was alive a wedding took place in this house.

- When this form functions as subject or object of another verb, including হওয়া, আছ- or conjunct verbs, it is always an infinitive.

c) তারা আলাপ করতে লাগল। *They started to talk.*

d) সকালে নাস্তা বানাতে হয়। *Breakfast has to be prepared in the morning.*

e) সেখানে কি যেতে আছে? *Is it permitted to go there?*

f) আমার মরে যেতে ইচ্ছা করছে। *I want to die.* (Smith, p 118)

These findings enable us to draw a clearer line between infinitives and present participles and in the absence of syntactic criteria, which will cover most cases, semantic considerations can help to clarify the situation, for instance if we compare

g) বাজারে যেতে আমি থলিটা নিয়ে যাব।

I will take the bag to go to the market.

h) চোখ খুলতেই লীলা হেসে উঠলো।

As soon as she opened her eyes Lila burst out laughing.

the semantic component of purpose, which is characteristic of infinitives is present in sentence g) and absent in sentence h), clearly distinguishing the two forms. This component of purpose occurs with intransitive main verbs, as in sentence g).

If we take i) তারা তাস খেলতে আসবে। *They will come to play cards.*

a potential present participle reading can only be achieved by doubling the verb form

j) তারা তাস খেলতে খেলতে আসবে। *They will come playing cards.*

2-4 **Verbal nouns** and infinitives are often used alternatively (see 7.2), but there are some instances where they can be used together. These tend to be examples of rather formal or stilted language, eg on a poster

a) আপনাকে অপেক্ষা করতে বলা হবে *you will be told to wait*

Equally, sentences like 2.1.9 can be turned into passive sentences by changing the subject into a genitive, the finite verb form into a verbal noun and making it the subject of the sentence, eg

b) তারা আলাপ করতে বসল। *They sat down to talk* can be changed to

c) তাদের আলাপ করতে বসা হবে।

This is syntactically acceptable but in all other respects rather pointless and a suitable translation would require some syntactical contortions in English. From a definitional point of view, examples like these show that verbal nouns are capable of taking complements. Dasgupta makes a strong case for classing verbal nouns as nominal, but their ability to take complements or objects (see p 22), is a verbal characteristic.

The other examples of infinitive and verbal noun combinations are Jibananda Das's sentences

d) যাকে কবি-জগত বলা যেতে পারে।

what might be called the poet's world...

e) সংক্ষেপে বলতে পারা যায় এই: ... *in brief one can say this:...*

which, as Seely indicates, contain some redundancy.

2-6 **Perfective participles** and infinitives combine easily, but the examples which spring to mind tend to be of the compound verb variety, eg

a) ভাত ফেলে দিতে হবে। *The rice will have to be thrown away.*

In sequential cases, as in, for example

b) স্নান করে খেতে এস।

Come to eat when you have had a shower.

the connection between the two non-finite forms is rather tenuous. However, again as with conditional participles, infinitives can precede perfective participles, eg

- c) গাছ কাটতে গিয়ে *having gone to cut a tree* or
d) বাচ্চাকে কাঁদতে দেখে *having seen the child crying*

If perfective participles and infinitives are used alternatively in identical sentences, their semantic properties can be clearly seen

with pp e) ছেলেটি স্নান করে আসল। *The boy came after having a wash.*

with infinitive f) ছেলেটি স্নান করতে আসল। *The boy came (in order) to have a wash.*

3 present participle

3-4 Present participles are adverbial or clausal which means that they are syntactically independent, additional and do not directly engage with other parts of the sentence. Present participles can sometimes express manner, eg in passive sentences with **verbal nouns**:

- a) মাথা টিপা দিতে দিতে ব্যথাটা কমানো যাবে।

By giving a head massage the pain can be reduced.

But in spite of the semantic cause-and-effect link, the two non-finite verb forms are syntactically quite independent from one another.

3-6 **Perfective participles** can either precede

- b) শুয়ে থাকতে থাকতে ভাইয়ের কথা মনে পড়লো।

He thought of his brother while lying down. (sentence 3.9)

or follow present participles

- c) ও চিৎকার করতে করতে দৌড় দিয়ে চলে গেল।

He ran away shouting.

but there is no syntactic connection between the verbs involved. In both examples b) and c) the perfective participles are components of compound verbs.

4 verbal noun

4-5 Verbal nouns and verbal adjectives are identical in form and in individual cases there can be confusion between them, cf Smith classifies this example (p 129)

সব তো তার জানা আছে, যা কিছু মানুষের জানা দরকার।

Everything a person needs to know is known by him.

as a predicative use of a verbal adjective. This is a possibility in the first clause if the sentence is seen as parallel to, eg দরজাটা খোলা আছে। *The door is open.* However, the use of a possessive pronoun before জানা suggests that this is a verbal noun use. In the second clause জানা can only be a verbal noun. If we keep in mind that adjectives are characterised by their attributive or predicative adherence to nouns, the scope for confusion between the two forms is considerably reduced.

4-6 Connections between verbal nouns and **perfective participles** tend to be the of the same type as infinitive - perfective participle combinations, ie they occur very naturally in compound verb structures, eg

with যাওয়া a) তাকে নিয়ে যাওয়া যাবে না।
It won't be possible to take him along.

with হওয়া b) ময়লাগুলো ফেলে দেওয়া হয়েছে।
The rubbish has been thrown away.

Sequential contexts are possible but they do not result in a syntactical connection between perfective participles and verbal nouns, eg

c) ছবিগুলো না দেখে বলা যায় না।
It isn't possible to comment without having seen the pictures.

The following table shows the findings of these comparisons.

	sentence function	semantic/aspectual properties	combinations with other non-finites	used in alternative with
cond part	clausal	conditional, temporal	can combine with all others	in temporal contexts with pp, with vn in structures with চলা
inf	subject, object, complement of other verbs	can express purpose; active, dynamic properties	with cond part, vn and pp	with genitive vn governed by abstract nouns (7.2)
pres part	adverbial, clausal	active, simultaneous	no	only finite clauses
vn	subject, object, as gen obj with other nouns	nominal, stative	with cond part, pp, infinitive	(in genitive) with infinitives
va	only attributive and predicative	passive, perfective	no	no
pp	adverbial, clausal	active, perfective; can express manner, cause	syntactic engagement only as compound verb component	with cond part

7.2 ABSTRACT NOUNS PRECEDED BY INFINITIVES OR VERBAL NOUNS

In this section I have brought together a group of abstract nouns and their combinability with either infinitives and / or verbal nouns. Unattributed example sentences (marked OS earlier on) were elicited - the phonological proximity to 'illicit' is entirely appropriate here - in an oral 'survey' done with four young people from a village in Natore/ Bangladesh. I gave them the abstract nouns and asked for

example sentences with them, ostensibly to improve my Bengali. No mention was made of grammatical structures, but sometimes a 'topic' was given, eg *counting money* টাকা গণনা in connection with শুরু *beginning*. No English was involved.

The type of structures we are dealing with can be looked at from three different research perspectives

- Abstract nouns can combine with different verbs in order to form conjunct verbs, eg ইচ্ছা করা, ইচ্ছা হওয়া, ইচ্ছা আছ-. In any given case, which of these verbs are acceptable and how does their use alter the meaning of the resulting conjunct verb? This is discussed briefly in section 3.3 of chapter 5.
- What semantic components in a conjunct verb of this type make it more or less likely to combine with either an infinitive or a verbal noun?
- In cases where either is possible, is there a difference in meaning?

The alternative uses of infinitives and verbal nouns are not restricted to conjunct verbs. As we saw in section 2.1 there are a number of verbs like জানা *know* শেখা *learn*, and verbs of like and dislike which can combine with either verbal nouns or infinitives, eg

with infinitive	বিড়াল মাছ ও দুধ খেতে ভালবাসে। <i>Cats like to eat fish and milk.</i> (Brother James, p 71)
with verbal noun	মাছ ও দুধ খেতে ভালবাসে। <i>I don't like to worry others.</i> (Milne, p 176)

The same situation exists with adjectives:

আম খাওয়া ভাল। vs আম খেতে ভাল। *It is good to eat mangoes.*

Concerning these two sentences a Bengali friend said to me that আম খাওয়া ভাল means *Eating mangoes is good for your health* and আম খেতে ভাল means *Mangoes are good/delicious to eat*.

This kind of explanation is given when a native speaker is asked to differentiate between two alternative structures. We've all been in situations where we were put on the spot by a linguistic question we had never considered before and where our only option was to make something up. It does not occur to us that the question may be wrong. As linguists we naturally want to understand language structures as precisely as possible but we also have to acknowledge that there are linguistic situations where two alternative structures can express the same concept.

In English we have a comparable situation with infinitive and gerund (-ing form) use. This was mentioned briefly before (page 27). Again this is an attempt to differentiate between structures which are basically interchangeable.

If we look at an English example in the light of Longman's tentative comment that '-ing may refer to an action in progress, whereas the to-infinitive may imply 'in general',' (p 317) we can picture the following situation: Two people are sitting at home, discussing their plans for the rest of the afternoon. According to Longman it would be unusual for one of them to say *I like swimming*, as this would indicate a general preference rather than a suggestion about what to do for the next few hours. His partner is, however, unlikely to object if he does say it, ie there would be no serious breach of grammatical rules. When they are in the swimming pool, on the other hand, they are much more likely to say *I like swimming* than *I like to swim*. The second sentence would sound odd in the context. What

we have here is two sentences with the same basic meaning whose appropriateness is decided by the language-external situational context. This means that in judging the 'correctness' of a sentence, we move away from syntactic and semantic criteria towards aspective and functional factors. This indicates that there is an aspectual difference between infinitives and verbal nouns, but its import depends on the specific speech situation. With the addition of an adverbial phrase the difference can be obliterated altogether, eg *I like swimming in the sea* and *I like to swim in the sea* are synonymous, both expressing a general preference.

Bengali infinitives and verbal nouns have different aspective properties which make them more or less likely to be used in a given situation. These are tendencies rather than fixed rules, but they can determine actual language use. If we compare these two sentences

- a) আমি রান্না করা শিখছি। and
b) আমি রান্না করতে শিখছি। *I am learning to cook,*

we see a tendency for sentence a) to be about a subject (cooking) and b) to be about a process. Verbal nouns in Bengali, due to their nominal character, present an entity; infinitives present an activity. This can be shown by expanding the two sentences to

- a) আমি বাঙালি রান্না করা শিখছি। *I am learning Bengali cooking.*
b) আমি তরকারি রান্না করতে শিখছি। *I am learning to cook curry.*

In sentence a) বাঙালি is a qualifying adjective, whereas তরকারি in sentence b) is a direct object. Combining বাঙালি with the infinitive or তরকারি with the verbal noun would result in ill-formed sentences. We can see from this that verbal nouns in Bengali can have a stative, infinitives a progressive aspect. The morphological proximity of infinitives to present participles and verbal nouns to passive participles may have an influence in determining these aspectual properties.

What significance do these properties have on combinations with conjunct verbs? In some cases, where either infinitives or verbal nouns can be used, the differences are fairly easy to recognize, eg

- with infinitive c) আব্দুল জঙ্গলে যেতে ভয় করে না। *Abdul is not afraid of going into the forest.*
with verbal noun d) তার বিমানে যাওয়ার ভয় নেই। *He is not afraid of going on a plane.*

Sentence c) is likely to be used in a situation where Abdul is just about to go into the forest. Sentence d) talks about a general fear of flying and does not have to refer to a particular situation.

In other cases, the situation seems to be almost reversed

- with infinitive e) আমার মরে যেতে ইচ্ছা করছে। *I want to die.* (Smith, p 118)
with verbal noun f) বিনা নিমন্ত্রণ সেখানে যাওয়া আমার ইচ্ছা নয়। [sic]

I don't wish to go there without an invitation. (Milne, p 176)

Here it seems that the infinitive structure makes a more general statement and the verbal noun structure refers to an imminent event.

If we look at the abstract nouns for which only infinitive combinations were found (there is no guarantee for these!) we can tentatively state that they refer to future directed activities, although there is no reason to assume that, for example, the sentence with ক্ষমতা *power, influence* could not be used with a verbal noun instead, eg হরতালটা বাতিল করার ক্ষমতা আমার নেই।

I don't have the power to cancel the strike.

A detailed semantic analysis of the abstract nouns in these structures is needed, not only in order to establish likely combinations with infinitives or verbal nouns, but also to get a clearer impression of their uses as conjunct verbs. This needs to be done in a separate study, but making an open-ended list of examples found with infinitives and/or verbal nouns can give us a starting-point for further research. A preliminary list is given as an appendix.

7.3 SUMMARY

A number of questions remain unresolved and are worthy of further research. What this chapter shows very clearly, though, is the importance of non-finite verb forms in the Bengali verbal system. In narrative text perfective participles are so prevalent and contribute so much to ease and fluency of language that they have become a vital feature of Bengali. Zbavitel has a somewhat unfortunate tendency, partly based on his perception of historical developments in Bengali, to talk of non-finite verb forms as if they were an additional feature of the language, the icing on the cake, so to speak. The increase of non-finite verb forms over the last few hundred years, which Zbavitel establishes, is undoubtedly significant, but his conclusions are dubious. The existence of, for instance, the conditional or the perfective participle is seen as a syntactical device which other languages lack. There are two problems with this kind of perception.

1. I do not (yet) know enough Sanskrit to give an informed comment, but from a perusal of a Sanskrit grammar it is obvious that there are a variety of non-finite verb forms such as infinitives, verbal nouns, past and present participles. Non-finite verb forms, therefore, are not a modern invention which add a bit more variety to a language but are an integral part of verbal systems.
2. The fact that Bengali has some non-finite features which are different from those in other languages does not make these features 'additional'. This concept can arise when languages are compared to one another, but from a language-internal point of view the perfective participle is just as much part of the language as any finite verb form.

The findings in this chapter can contribute to a clearer understanding of

- the division between infinitives and present participles
- the uses of the perfective participle in sentences with more than one subject
- verbal nouns as sentence subjects
- the clausal character of conditional and present participle
- non-finite verb forms which can be used alternatively
- co-occurrence of non-finites
- the differences between the English and the Bengali non-finite system

More research needs to be done on the overlap of infinitives and verbal nouns. The listings given in section 7.2 indicate factors of arbitrariness and of stylistic variation in choosing one of the two forms. These cases need not be pursued any further, but some inherent aspective differences between infinitives and genitive verbal nouns need to be taken into account. Factors such as the addition of

adverbials, adjectives etc may also play a significant role. A semantic analysis of the abstract nouns involved in these constructions will shed more light on the matter, but language does, of course, have the capacity for expressing the same semantic concept in grammatically different ways, and a choice between two structures may be based on the situational context.

Appendix to this chapter:

Conjunct Verbs in Combination with Infinitives and Verbal Nouns

CHAPTER 2

COMPOUND VERBS

1. THE STRUCTURES

This chapter is concerned with the very common structure consisting of the non-finite verb form ending in -e (-iya is the older form), ie the perfective participle (pp) of one verb followed by a finite verb form. In Bengali this structure provides a convenient way of describing a sequence of actions, usually carried out by the same subject.

For instance, the English sentence:

After his meal he changed his clothes and left.

can be translated into Bengali by using perfective participle constructions only:

সে ভাত খেয়ে তার কাপড় বদল করে চলে গেলো।

lit: *having eaten rice, having changed clothes, he left*

All Bengali active verbs can be used in chronological sequences like this and there are no restrictions to their uses.

What makes this structure particularly interesting, however, is the fact that some verbs, when used as the second (finite) component, change their lexical meaning in order to form a closer connection with the preceding perfective participle. The example sentence above contains three perfective participle forms: খেয়ে, করে and চলে - however, only the first two represent separate actions preceding the finite verb form of যাওয়া. The combination চলে গেলো, consisting of the perfective participle of চলা *move, go* and the 3d person past tense form of যাওয়া *go*, represents one single semantic unit (Zbavitel, p 75), called a compound verb, and can be translated as *leave*. To take a closer look at the way these second component verbs change their meanings and also under which restrictions they operate is the aim of this chapter.

2. THE TERMINOLOGY

The term **compound verb** is not unambiguous. As well as describing the perfective participle + verb structure it is used to refer to noun/ adjective combinations with verbs, eg চেষ্টা করা (*attempt - noun + do - verb: try*) or পরিষ্কার করা (*clean - adjective + do - verb: clean*).

Some authors (Muhammad, Dakshi, Pal, McLeod) also include verbal combinations where the non-finite first verb is in verbal noun (ending in -a or -no) or infinitive (ending in -te) form. These constructions, however, have quite different internal structures.

Verbal noun + finite verb constructions are the same as noun + verb constructions, e.g. দেখা করা is syntactically equivalent to চেষ্টা করা. It does not take a lot of analysis to see that a verbal combination infinitive + verb, such as যেতে পারা *be able to go* or কাজ করতে লাগা *start working* cannot be interpreted as parallel to a perfective participle + verb construction. In the infinitive construction both verbs retain their full lexical meaning and the syntactical relationship between পারা / লাগা and the preceding infinitive is that of full verb (Dasgupta calls this a **modal verb**) and complement.

In order to avoid confusion Zbavitel has suggested that perfective participle + verb constructions should be termed **verbal compounds** as a subcategory of **compound verbs**. Sarkar, on the other

hand, argues that the proper term for noun/ adjective + verb constructions is **conjunct verb** and that the term **compound verb** should be reserved for the structure we are dealing with here (p 293). Probal Dasgupta also refers to noun/ adjective + verb combinations as conjunct verbs, which leaves the term **compound verbs** free for pp + verb constructions. He implies that these two terms are now generally accepted in contemporary linguistic terminology.

The two components of the compound verb, in Sarkar's sense, are referred to as:

author	first component	second component
Bykova	notional verb	auxiliary
Zbavitel	directing verb	compound maker
Muhammad	verb	operator
Dasgupta	pole	vector
Dakshi	gerund	auxiliary
Sarkar	main verb	vector verb
Smith	perfective participle	aspective auxiliary
Seely	PAP (perfective active participle)	auxiliary
Pal	first component	compound maker
Bender/ Riccardi	gerund	second member of verbal cluster

I would question the term **gerund** for the non finite verb form ending in -e. This term seems more appropriate for the verbal noun rather than the verb form in -e which is verbal or, at least, adverbial in character. The use of the term **auxiliary** for the second verb form is widespread, but questionable. For the moment I would like to adopt Animesh Pal's term **compound maker** and discuss the appropriateness of **auxiliary** later (see p 87).

3. THE BACKGROUND

Compound verbs exist not only in Bengali but also in many other Indo-Aryan languages. In most of these languages they are a relatively recent phenomenon, though there are instances of compound verbs in classical Bengali. Their occurrence has increased considerably over the last four hundred years. Peter Hook suggests that in some languages the 'compound verb has evolved into an explicit means of expressing perfective aspect' (1993, p 97). The need for aspective meaning could be one reason for the emergence of compound verbs, but not all compound makers contribute only aspective features to the main verb (perfective participle). The compound makers in Indo-Aryan languages and the aspective qualities they express show remarkable similarities.

Kachru gives the following:

go vs come (Bengali যাওয়া vs আসা)

deictic meaning (Hindi-Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, Kashmiri)

- continuation vs completion (Hindi-Urdu, Bengali, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu, Gujarati, Kashmiri)
- take vs give** (Bengali নেওয়া vs দেওয়া)
benefactive meaning (Hindi-Urdu, Marathi, Bengali, Punjabi, Kannada, Kui, Tamil, Telugu, Kashmiri)
- fall** (Bengali পড়া)
suddenness in Indo-Aryan languages (change of state, suddenness in Kashmiri)
- pour, put, add, push, throw** (Bengali ফেলা - throw)
violence, 'to get it over with' (Hindi-Urdu, Marathi, Bengali, Tamil, Kannada)
(speed, recklessness, relief in Kashmiri)
- keep, put, place** (Bengali রাখা)
completion, action accomplished for future use (Hindi-Urdu, Marathi, Bengali, Tamil, Kannada) (proactiveness, future use in view, Kashmiri) (Kachru, p 115)

Not all languages are at the same stage of development. Kashmiri is a language with a relatively low percentage of compound verbs (between 1 and 2%) of all verbs, compared to about 12 to 16% (Hook's estimate) in Hindi-Urdu and Bengali. This means that Kashmiri is at an earlier stage of development in the emergence of compound verbs. Peter Hook lists the following properties in languages with a highly developed compound verb system:

- (i) They are more restricted in the range of syntactic constructions that allow them to occur. In particular, they are less free to occur in non-finite forms.
- (ii) Vector verbs are more highly grammaticalised. This means there are fewer restrictions on which main verbs vectors can combine with.
- (iii) Compound verbs have the expression of perfective aspect as one of their functions.

In less developed compound verb systems, as in Kashmiri, compound verbs have

- greater freedom to occur as non-finite forms, negative sentences etc.
- less grammaticalised vectors. This means that semantic and structural compatibility between vector and main verbs plays a greater role in determining what combinations are acceptable.
- absence of perfective aspect as one of the compound verb's functions. (Hook, 1992, p 6)

The situation in Bengali:

- (i) Although there are, of course, syntactic restrictions for the use of compound verbs, it is not true that compound makers cannot occur in non-finite form.

Examples with ফেলে দেওয়া *throw away*:

- in verbal noun form:

গতকালের বাসি ভাত ফেলে দেওয়া উচিত।

The stale rice from yesterday should be thrown away.

- in conditional participle:

তুমি ভাত ফেলে দিলে আমরা কি খাবো?

If you throw the rice away, what will we eat?

- in infinitive:

এসব জিনিসগুলো ফেলে দিতে হবে।

All these things will have to be thrown away.

- in perfective participle:

চিঠিটা আমার দিকে ফেলে দিয়ে চলে গেলো।

He threw the letter at me and left.

(ii) This is true in Bengali, eg

a) সে এই কথা বলেছে। (simple verb)

b) সে এই কথা বলে গেছে। (compound with যাওয়া *go*)

c) সে এই কথা বলে উঠেছে। (compound with ওঠা *rise, get up*)

d) সে এই কথা বলে বসেছে। (compound with বসা *sit*)

can all be translated as *He has said this.*

There may be different shades of meaning or emphasis, but they are so slight that they are difficult to convey in translation; and it is likely that native speakers would not agree on them. On the other end of the scale there are, however, compound makers which change the meaning of the main verb considerably, eg

e) আমি তাকে মারবো। (simple verb) → *I will hit him.* and

f) আমি তাকে মেরে ফেলবো। (compound with ফেলা *throw*) → *I will kill him.*

(iii) is true in Bengali.

4. DEFINITIONS

Compared to other areas of Bengali grammar, such as postpositions, passive constructions or the pronoun system, the phenomenon of Bengali compound verbs has been dealt with quite extensively. The authors who have worked on compound verbs come from different theoretical backgrounds and each contribution offers new aspects and insights which help to define the role of compound makers. Of particular significance is Důsan Zbavitel's detailed analysis of non-finite verb forms.

Pobitro Sarkar sets out the criteria for a verbal combination to be considered a compound verb (p 293):

- (i) the first member (Main Verb MV) retains the chief burden of meaning that the sequence carries
- (ii) the last member more or less loses its lexical meaning
- (iii) the first member is usually a non- finite verb form
- (iv) the last member is a finite form, ie it carries the verbal concordance

There is a contradiction between (ii) and (iii). There are five non-finite verb forms in Bengali, ie infinitive, verbal noun, conditional participle, present participle and perfective participle. If the non-finite verb form in a sentence is anything other than a perfective participle, however, the last member (finite verb) does not lose its lexical meaning but remains the main verb of the sentence.

Examples for these are

- with infinitive:

আমি তোমাকে আসতে বলেছি। *I have told you to come.*

The relationship between the finite verb বলা and the preceding infinitive আসতে is that of main verb and complement/object. There is no merging of the two verb forms.

- with verbal noun:

আমার আজকে যাওয়া হবে না। *I won't be going today.* lit: *my going today will not be*

Verbal nouns are nominal by definition and behave like any other noun. In this case, the verbal noun is the subject of the sentence.

- with conditional participle:

এখন না গেলে আমাদের দেরি হবে। *If we don't go now, we will be late.*

Both verbs retain their meaning. The conditional participle with its adjuncts forms a separate clause.

- with present participle:

সে গল্প করতে করতে কাজ করে। *He chats while he works.*

The present participle describes an action parallel to that of the sentence-final verb.

Both verbs retain their meaning.

Sarkar himself is aware of the different syntactic relationships between first and second component verbs in these structures. He eliminates verbs like চাওয়া *want* and পারা *be able to*, because they 'take underlying sentences as complements' (p 294).

Describing the second member of a compound verb as finite (iv) is mainly for simplicity's sake.

The connectedness of a combination like ফেলে দেওয়া *throw away* remains the same, even if the compound maker is in non-finite form. In the sentence:

আমি গতকালের ভাত ফেলে দিয়েছি। *I have thrown the rice from yesterday away.*

দেওয়া is in finite form, but it is equally possible to say:

গতকালের ভাত ফেলে দিতে হবে। *Yesterday's rice has to be thrown away.*

with দেওয়া in the infinitive form without changing the relationship between the two verb forms.

Animesh Pal defines pure verbal compounds as: 'the compounds of two verb roots placed side by side and suggest[ing] one single meaning which is somewhat different from the original meaning of either of the two verb roots' (p 221).

Zbavitel echoes this by stating that verbal combinations in order to qualify as verbal compounds must represent a 'single indivisible semantic unit' (p 75).

W.L.Smith puts forward that 'aspective auxiliaries, when combined with perfective participles, lend them an aspectual coloring and at the same time lose their own 'meaning' (p 149). Almost identical is Clinton Seely's statement that 'auxiliary verbs, though they have a literal meaning of their own, are not translatable literally but add instead a nuance to the 'meaningful' verb which they follow' (p 149).

Qazi Din Muhammad adds the element of stress to distinguish compound verbs:

Compound verbs are 'a combination of a non-finite verb plus an operator. The finite verbal form is one of a restricted series of verbs. The verbal piece as a whole behaves like a simple single verb form. In the characteristic utterances of these types of verbal piece in sentences, one major stress is recognized in the beginning of the sentence' (p 23).

The general consensus, thus, seems to be that of the two verb forms the first (non-finite) determines the meaning of the compound, the second verb colours this meaning and also, usually, carries the inflectional information.

5. BORDERLINES

In order to understand what a compound verb is, it is equally important to define what it is not. Zbavitel points out the crucial difference between constructions like নিয়ে আসা and এসে পড়া, নিয়ে আসা lit: *having taken, come*, though translatable by one verb *bring*, nevertheless represents a sequence of actions where the lexical meaning of both verbs is fully retained. In এসে পড়া lit: *having come, fall*, on the other hand, the meaning of পড়া *fall* is lost and it serves instead to add an element of suddenness, unexpectedness to the meaning of আসা, eg

সে সকালবেলায় এসে পড়েছে। *He turned up (unexpectedly) this morning.*

Zbavitel makes this distinction, but still accepts structures like করে যাওয়া, দিয়ে যাওয়া, রেখে আসা into his class of compound verbs. In all of these, the compound makers retain their meaning.

Clinton Seely goes one step further and excludes যাওয়া as in নিয়ে যাওয়া from his list of auxiliaries. His justification of whether the second component of a pp + verb construction is an auxiliary (compound maker) or not is based on the meaning of this second component, which means that even though the constructions নিয়ে যাওয়া and পড়ে যাওয়া seem to be structurally the same, Seely assigns a different function to the second component যাওয়া, according to its lexical meaning, or lack thereof, in the sentence.

Probal Dasgupta points out another important distinction when trying to identify compound verbs. The sentence

ছবিগুলো দেখে নাও।

can be interpreted in two different ways: It can either be what he calls a pole + pole sequence, in which case it will be translated as: *Look at the pictures and take them!*

In this case, even though the verb নেওয়া *take* is perfectly capable of acting as a compound maker (Dasgupta: vector), both verb forms retain their full meaning and represent a sequence of actions, not a compound verb. The sentence can also be translated as:

Have a look at the pictures!

-with নেওয়া in its role of compound maker (vector) (Dasgupta p 70)

In order to identify genuine compound makers (vectors) Dasgupta gives the following, traditionally accepted, restrictions. A vector is:

1. syntactically restricted, ie it occurs immediately after the pole
2. semantically heteronomous, ie it does not retain its autonomous meaning and
3. grammatically subservient, ie it can not take modifiers. In the sentence ছবিগুলো দেখে সিদ্ধান্ত নাও। the verb নেওয়া cannot be interpreted as a compound maker (vector). Adding সিদ্ধান্ত *decision*, as a modifier of নেওয়া, reverts the sentence back to a pole/ pole reading, ie

Look at the pictures and make a decision.

6. THE AUTHORS

Dŭsan Zbavitel

Zbavitel gives a very detailed analysis of non-finite verb forms and their occurrence in older and in modern texts in order to show how non-finite verb forms have become a lot more frequent in the last four hundred years. This development has also affected the emergence of compound verbs. His research shows clearly that those verbs which can function as compound makers have gradually changed away from their original meaning. In his classical texts, for instance, the verb ফেলা *throw* combines with verbs whose meanings are similar to that of ফেলা itself, and it is only in his modern texts that ফেলা loses its original meaning and takes on a different role, adding suddenness, completedness or intensity to the action of the main verb.

Zbavitel confines his, undoubtedly very competent, analysis of compound verbs to the verbs he found in his ten texts. He questions his own judgment for interpreting language structures and, drawing his examples from actual texts, avoids relying on his own language intuition. By doing this, however, he misses out on some very common verb combinations, which should really have been part of his analysis. Examples for these are:

চলে যাওয়া *go away*, নিয়ে যাওয়া *take away*, ভুলে যাওয়া *forget*, পালিয়ে যাওয়া *flee*,

ডুবে যাওয়া *sink, drown*, হারিয়ে যাওয়া *get lost*, বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া *explain*, এনে দেওয়া *bring*,

ছিঁড়ে ফেলা *tear up*, শূয়ে পড়া *lie down*, শূয়ে থাকা *stay lying down*.

Zbavitel's book provides us with the most detailed treatment of compound verbs and could be improved only by expanding his sources and including an analysis of spoken language.

Alibha Dakshi

Her interest in looking at compound structures is to discover their aspectual qualities.

She includes infinitive as well as perfective participle constructions in her analysis. As we have seen earlier, infinitive structures cannot be classed as compound verbs because the two verb forms in the sentence remain quite separate. There is no doubt that compound makers can add aspectual meaning to the main verb of a sentence, eg when আসা *come* is followed by যাওয়া *go* the compound meaning becomes *arrive*, which adds a completive aspect to the main verb. In her conclusion Dakshi says: 'These aspectual meanings are expressed by compound verbs only and they seem to be considered as grammatical categories which can be derived from the analysis of the usages of compound verb forms in Bengali' (p 73).

I would argue, however, that in some of Dakshi's examples the aspectiveness stems from the lexical meaning of the second verb form, not from the combined verb forms. Of her examples, the verbs লাগা *start, begin* (aspect: inceptive), পাওয়া *get, receive* (aspect: acquisitive), পারা *can, be able to* (aspect: possibility, potential), চাওয়া *want* (aspect: desiderative), থাকা, আছ, রওয়া *be, stay, remain* (aspect: durative) all carry their original meaning, in compound constructions as well as on their own.

Her aim of exploring the aspectual qualities of compound verbs is an interesting and valid proposition. More research may be necessary in order to establish exactly what should come under the heading of 'aspect'. My own feeling is that aspect has to do with time, eg duration, beginnings and endings, repetition, completed or unfinished processes, suddenness of action or continuity of

states but I would not include desiderative (খেতে চাওয়া *to want to eat*), acquisitive (দেখতে পাওয়া *to be able to see*) and permissive (আসতে দেওয়া *to allow to come*) features as aspectual qualities. Through her aspectual approach, Dakshi comes up with interesting pairings of compound makers. Where, more usually, the verb ফেলা *throw* is paired with পড়া *fall* (transitive- intransitive), Dakshi puts ফেলা together with রাখা *keep*, both verbs expressing a completive aspect. Similarly, আসা *come* and নেওয়া *take* are grouped together as both verbs 'denote an action which affects the agent primarily' (aspect: reflexiveness) (p 72). Viewing verbal structures in this way can provide valuable insights into the workings of the language.

Probal Dasgupta

Rooted firmly in transformational generative grammar, Dasgupta develops various tests in order to differentiate between genuine vectors (compound makers) and second position pole verbs ie the second verb form in a sequence of actions like দেখে নেওয়া *look and then take*. One of them is the double negation test. Since a vector, in the traditional definition, is grammatically subservient, ie not able to take a modifier, then a double negative automatically results in a pole-pole reading, eg

ছবিগুলো না দেখে নিও না। can only be translated as

Don't take the pictures without having seen them.

The lexical meaning of নেওয়া is retained and so the verb combination represents a sequence of actions rather than a compound verb. This brings up an interesting question, which Dasgupta does not pursue. How are compound verbs negated?

ছবিগুলো দেখে নিও না।

can, surely, only be translated as:

Don't take the pictures after you have seen them,

which means that we are dealing with a sequence of actions rather than a compound (Dasgupta: pole + pole). The negation affects the second verb নেওয়া *take* only and we do not have a negated compound verb. Another way of negating this sentence is

ছবিগুলো না দেখে নাও।

which, again results in a verbal sequence. The sentence can only mean:

Take the pictures without looking at them.

I believe that there are a number of cases where a negative is prone to revert a compound back to a simple verb form. When answering a question in the negative:

তুমি কি ছবিগুলো দেখে নিয়েছো? *Have you seen the pictures?*

the most natural answer would be:

না, আমি ছবিগুলো দেখি নি। (simple verb), not

আমি ছবিগুলো দেখে নেই নি। (compound verb)

Other examples are easily found:

সে কি ভাত খেয়ে ফেলেছে? *Has he eaten up the rice?*

না, সে সব খায় নি। *No, he hasn't eaten it all.* or

না, সে ভাত শেষ করে নি। *No, he hasn't finished it.*

Both of those sentences are more idiomatic than

*না, সে ভাত খেয়ে ফেলে নি।

The reason for this is probably the fact that many compound makers add an element of completedness to the meaning of the main verb. In a negative sentence, since the action is then not completed, the presence of the completing element, ie the compound maker, is no longer appropriate.

These particular examples prove that compound makers cannot take modifiers of their own, ie they are grammatically subservient, but Dasgupta gives the following counter-example:

আমাকে এই কাজটা করে দাও। *Do this work for me.*

In this example, it is the 'subservient' compound maker which determines the choice of আমাকে rather than আমার জন্যে. Neither the simple verb *আমাকে এই কাজটা করো। nor the verbal compound with ফেলা, eg *আমাকে এই কাজটা করে ফেলো। are acceptable. Dasgupta concludes from this that though দেওয়া as a compound maker cannot have its own complements, it can influence the choice of complements in a sentence on a syntactical level. There is no difference in meaning between:

আমাকে এই কাজ করে দাও। and আমার জন্যে এই কাজ করে দাও।

Both sentences can be translated as: *Will you do this work for me?*

Dasgupta brings in the factor of transitivity harmony and points to the following verb pairs in their use as compound makers:

transitive	intransitive
আনা bring	আসা come
তোলা raise	ওঠা rise
রাখা keep	রওয়া stay
ফেলা throw	পড়া fall

'For each intransitive vector that takes only intransitive poles, there exists a synonymous transitive vector that takes only transitive poles, they express the same vector meaning, although the stems in their polar function are non-synonymous.' (p 79) Dasgupta leaves these observations without drawing any further conclusions, but I think that more can be said on the subject.

E.M.Bykova

Bykova identifies three functions of auxiliary verbs (compound makers) in verbal combinations:

1. the spatial characterisation (direction) of an action

The following verbs can take this function and be seen as pairs of symmetrical opposition:

<i>down, away from</i>	<i>up, towards</i>
যাওয়া go	আসা come
পড়া fall	ওঠা rise
দেওয়া give	নেওয়া take
ফেলা throw	তোলা raise, lift

যাওয়া and আসা indicate motion away from and towards the speaker, respectively, and can combine with movement verbs to give direction. Examples with যাওয়া are given on page 15???.

All of these verbs can also be used with আসা .

Equally, দেওয়া give and নেওয়া take direct the action in the sentence either away from (দেওয়া) or towards (নেওয়া) the subject of the sentence.

ওঠা rise and পড়া fall represent upward (ওঠা) and downward (পড়া) movement without reference to the position of the speaker. তোলা raise, lift and ফেলা throw are their transitive counterparts.

2. qualitative characteristics of an action

Under this heading, Bykova lists the following aspective features:

a) intensity of an action:

যাওয়া go	denoting the development of an action from a certain point in time with a negative result or simply intensifying the action
আসা come	tracing the development of an action from the past to the present
ওঠা rise	indicating development, progress, stressing the starting point of an action, intensifying the action
পড়া fall	intensifying regressive actions
তোলা raise, lift	often expressing a new (improved) state
ফেলা throw	marking completedness or suddenness of the action
বসা sit	expressing suddenness, unexpectedness, also persistence or stubbornness

b) resultativity:

Bykova lists the following verbs as stressing the result of an action:

বসা sit, দাঁড়ানো stand, ধরা catch, hold, রাখা keep.

I would also add যাওয়া go, as, for instance, in the phrase

ঘড়িটা ভেঙ্গে গেছে। The watch is broken.

c) continuity:

expressed through the compound maker চলা . It describes actions which have begun in the past and, sometimes after an interruption, continue in the present. Bykova gives the following examples: বেজে চলা continue playing (music), হেঁটে চলা wandering, বকে চলা chattering. She does not include the verbs থাকা stay, remain and the incomplete verb আছি be in her list of compound makers, but both of these can express continuity in combination with other verbs. The reason for not including them as compound makers may be that their original meaning is almost fully retained in compounds.

d) iterativeness:

expressed with the verb বেড়ানো move around. Bykova gives ঘুরে বেড়ানো walk about, circle, drive around and খুঁজে বেড়ানো searching around.

e) 'the degree to which an action manifests itself as a quality' (p 122)

I must admit that Bykova's definition of this aspect/ feature is not clear to me. She starts by saying that this meaning is expressed by ওঠা rise, but then her examples are given with নেওয়া

take and with দেওয়া *give*, to express 'the low degree of the manifestation of an action' (p 126), eg শুয়ে নেওয়া *lie down*, হেঁটে নেওয়া *go for a walk*. Both examples seem rather unusual to me. The characteristic feature seems to be 'to make the subject feel better', or with দেওয়া *give* to 'give pleasure to others'.

f) emotional and evaluative colouring

Verbs in this group are ওঠা *rise*, পড়া *fall*, তোলা *lift, raise*, ফেলা *throw*, বসা *sit*.

All of these verbs can, in particular contexts, convey a sense of unexpectedness, suddenness or provoke negative or positive emotions.

Bykova says: 'The semantics of combinations with these verbs, especially combinations with বসা and ফেলা is rich in shades and becomes obvious only in definite speech situations' (p 127)

3. indication of transitivity - intransitivity of an action

Bykova sees the transitivity factor as a by-function of the first two categories, direction and mode. Compound makers can mark transitivity or intransitivity in compounds with verbs that can be either. Examples of these are given on page 14.

Another function of the compound maker can be to stress the transitivity or intransitivity of the main verb. Verbs from the same stem can form intransitive compounds on the one hand, and transitive- causative compounds on the other, eg:

intransitive		transitive-causative	
ভরে ওঠা	be filled	ভরিয়ে দেওয়া	fill
নমে যাওয়া	get down	নামিয়ে দেওয়া	drop off, set down
মিশে যাওয়া	combine, get mixed	মিশিয়ে দেওয়া	mix (sth)
বঁচে থাকা	survive	বাঁচিয়ে দেওয়া	save

I will come back to the question of transitivity later.

Animesh Pal

Pal starts with a detailed analysis and clear definition concerning compound makers and their properties, with his analysis based very much on semantic factors. When he goes on to listing his verbal compound makers with translations, however, he seems to lose sight of his original definition of compound verbs expressing one single idea. Even given his explanation that translations are approximate only, it is difficult to see how phrases like *to get something done and come back* (করে আসা) or *to tear something and then bring in* (ছিঁড়ে আনা) can be compressed into single ideas.

More surprising, though, is the fact that, after examining structures like বলতে গিয়ে and করতে গেলে he comes to the conclusion that বলতে গিয়ে *having started to speak* is a pure compound, whereas করতে গেলে *having gone to do* is not. His concern is with the retained lexical meaning of যাওয়া in the second verb combination, but the structure বলতে গিয়ে could just as easily be translated as

having gone to say or করতে গেলে (somewhat clumsily) as *if doing*. This example demonstrates that purely semantic considerations, and especially semantic considerations based on translations, are not sufficient in defining syntactical structures.

His rather narrowly semantic definition of verbal combinations should prevent him from including infinitive + verb constructions in his analysis, but it does not. 'A few constructions are in use with lag as a second component.' (p 226), eg কাঁদতে লাগা, হাসতে লাগা etc. By his own criteria a compound maker's meaning is 'either partially or totally lost' (p 221). The fact is that the verb লাগা in its meaning *start, begin* not only retains its lexical meaning fully but can be combined with the infinitive of practically every active verb in Bengali.

The other construction which he includes in the pure verbal compound category is the impersonal structure of an infinitive with a third person form of হওয়া, expressing *must, have to*, eg

আমাকে আজকে যেতে হবে। *I will have to go today.*

Though I do not presume to be able to syntactically explain this structure I feel sure that it does not belong with verbal compounds of the type পড়ে যাওয়া. The meaning of হওয়া is different here from its lexical meaning *be, become*, but I would consider it the main verb in these structures, with the preceding infinitive as its complement. The two verb forms do not combine to represent one meaning, but remain separate.

Qazi Din Muhammad

Muhammad is generally concerned with any kind of verbal combination and does not interpret what Sarkar calls a compound verb any differently from other combinations.

His second component verb forms are called operators in active sentences and auxiliaries (these include only হওয়া, যাওয়া, আছি and থাকা) in passive sentences. Since his passive constructions do not contain the non-finite verb form in -e as a first component, they do not concern us here.

Muhammad's article is descriptive rather than analytic and his aim is to bring together verbal combinations, which are listed as he finds them. He has an interesting interpretation of the compound খেয়ে বসা *forget, spoil* as in the sentence:

তুমি পুরানো পড়া সব খেয়ে বসেছো। which he translates as:

You have forgotten all the previous lessons.

The translation is undoubtedly correct, but I believe that the idiom here is পড়া খাওয়া *forget studies* rather than খেয়ে বসা. Interpreted in this way, the meaning of বসা *sit* becomes rather vague.

His list of compound makers include a few verbs which are not included elsewhere, eg compounds

with মরা *die*: খেলে মরা *play hard*, কেঁদে মরা *suffer*, পড়ে মরা *be involved*,

লিখে মরা *be exhausted by constant writing*

with দেখা *see*: খেয়ে দেখা *taste*, গিয়ে দেখা *go*, করে দেখা *take chance*, তুলে দেখা *have a look*,

নিয়ে দেখা *take chance*, খেলে দেখা *attempt to play*

with আনা *bring*: তুলে আনা *bring out*, উঠিয়ে আনা *pick out*, চিনে আনা *choose out*,

গুছিয়ে আনা *arrange*, চেয়ে আনা *beg*

The translations for these compounds are taken out of context and therefore, necessarily, somewhat arbitrary, but I his translations for the following compounds with ওঠা are a bit too varied to be acceptable

গিয়ে ওঠা *complete journey, reach*,

খেয়ে ওঠা *finish eating*,

বলে ওঠা *start speaking*,

গেয়ে ওঠা *start singing*,

দিয়ে ওঠা *complete giving*,

শুনে ওঠা *be able to hear*,

করে ওঠা *be able to complete*.

In these compounds Muhammad identifies three meanings of ওঠা: starting an action, finishing an action and being able to do something. The aspect of *finishing* is appropriate, but the *ability* factor seems rather farfetched. Although I agree that ওঠা can take on a variety of shades of meanings, I believe that these emerge only in particular contexts and Muhammad's distribution of beginnings and endings is not logical.

7. THE COMPOUND MAKERS

In this section I want to take a closer look at the actual verbs involved in forming compound verbs on the basis of their occurrence alone. Some of the verb combinations under discussion may not qualify for Zbavitel's 'single semantic unit' (p 75), but because their uses are frequent and idiomatic I am including them here. This is a list of the verbs which are generally accepted to function as compound makers with a hint of their effect on the main verbs.

verbs	lexical meaning	adverbial nuance as compound maker
যাওয়া	<i>go</i>	completely
আসা	<i>come</i>	gradually
ওঠা	<i>rise, get up</i>	suddenly
পড়া	<i>fall</i>	suddenly
বসা	<i>sit</i>	abruptly
তোলা	<i>lift, raise</i>	altogether
দেওয়া	<i>give</i>	for you
নেওয়া	<i>take</i>	for me
ফেলা	<i>throw</i>	thoroughly

The following verbs are accepted by some, but not all, authors:

verbs	lexical meaning	adverbial nuance as compound maker
চলা	<i>move, go</i>	carrying on
রাখা	<i>keep</i>	for keeps
বেড়ানো	<i>move around</i>	round and about
দাঁড়ানো	<i>stand</i>	having finished
থাকা	<i>stay, remain</i>	habitually
আছ	<i>be</i>	continuously

According to the traditional interpretation of what constitutes a compound verb, the semantic 'merging' of the two verb forms is a crucial factor. Combinations like নিয়ে যাওয়া *having taken, go* and বসে থাকা *remain sitting* are accepted as compound verbs almost by default. Both যাওয়া and

থাকা, in the combinations given, retain their own lexical meaning, but combinations like these make their way into the compound verb system for the following reasons:

- they are frequent and idiomatic,
- the connection between the two verb forms is very strong,
- they are intuitively different from verbal sequences like লিখে বলা *having written say*,
- the same compound makers are capable of losing their own meaning with other main verbs, eg
in ভেঙ্গে যাওয়া *get broken*, there is no trace of *going* anywhere,
- any complements or modifiers belong to the compound verb as a whole

This last point is where things can begin to get tricky. It is perfectly possible in Bengali to say তোমাকে নিয়ে আমি বাড়ি যাবো। *I will take you home with me*, lit: *having taken you I will go home*.

The modifier বাড়ি belongs to যাওয়া alone. This must mean that we have a pole/ pole (Dasgupta) reading here. It is, however not possible to place a modifier between the two verb forms in হয়ে যাওয়া *become*, উঠে যাওয়া *come off*, ভুলে যাওয়া *forget*, শুকিয়ে যাওয়া *dry* and many more similar examples. How then do we decide which of these are compound verbs and which are not? Probal Dasgupta has made an important contribution in 'tightening up' the defining criteria. In order to arrive at a satisfactory definition, more questions into the behaviour of these second component verbs need to be asked and tested through examples. Some of these are:

- Does the compound maker retain its lexical meaning?
- Can the compound verb be used in all tenses?
- Can the compound verb be used in negative sentences?
- Can any modifiers be placed between the two verb forms?
- Is there a connection between aspective features and tenses?
- Are the combinatorial possibilities of verbs with compound makers limited?

There are many more such questions and though a number of attempts have been made to explore them, a lot of them still remain open.

8. THE VERBS

যাওয়া - *go*

The verb যাওয়া is by far the most common and widely used of the compound makers. It can combine with a great number of verbs, both transitive and intransitive, and has, as Bykova puts it, 'infinite semantic capacity' (p 123). Zbavitel divides its uses into three main categories:

1. with verbs of movement
2. to express completion of the verbal action
3. to express continuity of the verbal action (Zbavitel p 99)

W.L.Smith adds to these the function of যাওয়া as marking the intransitive use of verbs which can be used both transitively and intransitively. The transitive use of these same verbs is formed with দেওয়া *give* or ফেলা *throw*. Examples for these are:

intransitive with যাওয়া	transitive with দেওয়া or ফেলা
কেটে যাওয়া be cut	কেটে দেওয়া cut
খুলে যাওয়া be opened	খুলে দেওয়া open
ছিঁড়ে যাওয়া get torn	ছিঁড়ে ফেলা tear
ভেঙ্গে যাওয়া get broken	ভেঙ্গে ফেলা break
ভরে যাওয়া get filled	ভরে দেওয়া fill
মিশে যাওয়া get mixed	মিশে দেওয়া mix
শুকিয়ে যাওয়া get dry	শুকিয়ে দেওয়া dry

1. with verbs of movement

In these verb combinations যাওয়া undoubtedly retains some of its lexical meaning and serves to direct the movement away from the speaker. W.L. Smith calls these combinations directional compounds. The most common of these are:

চলে যাওয়া *go away*, উড়ে যাওয়া *fly away*, ফিরে যাওয়া *go back, return*, পালিয়ে যাওয়া *flee*, ঘুরে যাওয়া *walk around*, ডুবে যাওয়া *sink, drown*, বেড়িয়ে যাওয়া *go visiting, go out*, ভেসে যাওয়া *float(away)*, নেমে যাওয়া *descend, get down*, ঢুকে যাওয়া *enter*.

2. to express completion of verbal action

যাওয়া is used in these compounds to indicate that an action is over, but it can also stress the result of an action or process. For instance

সে সকালে এসে গেছে। *He arrived this morning,*

implies and stresses the result: *He is now here*. Equally,

আমার সাইকেল ভেঙ্গে গেছে। *My bicycle has got broken,*

stresses the fact that the bicycle is now broken. It would be interesting to see whether these types of compounds are linked with particular tenses, eg the perfect tense. It would be unusual, to say the least, to say সে কালকে এসে যাবে। (compound verb) rather than সে কালকে আসবে। (simple verb).

Is this true in all cases or only with particular verbs? Sentences like

তুমি পড়ে যাবে। *You will fall,*

and equally future tense constructions with

ভেঙ্গে যাওয়া *get broken*, ছিঁড়ে যাওয়া *get torn*, হয়ে যাওয়া *become*

are perfectly acceptable. I suspect that there is a regularity in this phenomenon, similar to the restrictions in negating compound verbs (see p 75), which is likely to be based on actual usage of these phrases. In structures like ভেঙ্গে যাওয়া the connection between perfective participle and finite verb is so strong that the compound has virtually taken the place of a simple verb structure and can therefore be used in all tenses. This is not the case with এসে যাওয়া.

The main verbs used in these combinations can express either a process which takes some time and has now come to an end, eg

শুকিয়ে যাওয়া *become dry*, ভুলে যাওয়া *forget*, বেড়ে যাওয়া *increase*, হয়ে যাওয়া

become, or they can express actions which have no extension in time, like

ভেঙ্গে যাওয়া *break*, কেটে যাওয়া *be cut*, উঠে যাওয়া *come off (of stains etc)*, থেমে যাওয়া *stop*.

3. to express continuity

W.L.Smith gives the following examples to demonstrate this use of যাওয়া as a compound maker:

সে শুনতে যাচ্ছিলো। *he went on listening*, কমে যাচ্ছে *gradually disappearing*,

ফেটে যাচ্ছে *bursting*, কাক ডেকে যাচ্ছে। *crows are cawing (of birds)*.

Though I do not disagree with his interpretation that these verb combinations express continuity, all the forms of যাওয়া are in either present or past continuous forms. Surely this is what accounts for the implication of continuity in these sentences, not the verb যাওয়া itself. In another tense, say the present perfect tense, ফেটে গেছে *has burst, exploded* the shade of meaning যাওয়া adds to the verb ফটা is again that of completion, rather than continuity. Perhaps it would be more accurate, though somewhat redundant, to say that যাওয়া in its continuous tenses can convey a sense of continuity.

আসা - *come*

Like যাওয়া, আসা combines with verbs of motion, but in the opposite direction. The movement is towards the speaker: ফিরে আসা *come back*, নেমে আসা *come down*, চলে আসা *arrive*, ঘুরে আসা *return*.

W.L. Smith gives two further senses of আসা as a compound maker. One is indicating gradual changes, especially in the weather, time of day etc.. Examples are:

কমে এলো *lessened*, শুকিয়ে আসছে *grows dry*, নির্জন হয়ে আসছে *becomes deserted*.

The other meaning of আসা is to describe an action or process beginning in the distant past and continuing into the present (Smith p 151). Smith's example sentences contain phrases like

অনাদিকাল হতে *since time immemorial*, অনেক দিন ধরে *for a long time*,

আদিমকাল থেকে *since primitive times*.

The presence of these phrases begs the question whether just the verbal compounds alone would have the connotations Smith assigns to them.

ওঠা - *rise* and পড়া - *fall*

Both these verbs used as compound makers imply a change of state, coloured by their original meanings, ie motion upwards or downwards. Consider the following examples:

with ওঠা		with পড়া	
বেড়ে ওঠা	increase	নেমে পড়া	get down
ভরে ওঠা	be filled up	বেয়ে পড়া	flow down
ফুলে ওঠা	flower, blossom	টুলে পড়া	nod off
সেরে ওঠা	recover (from illness)	ভেঙ্গে পড়া	collapse

with ওঠা		with পড়া	
জ্বলে ওঠা	flare up	ঘুমিয়ে পড়া	fall asleep
ভালো হয়ে ওঠা	get better	বসে পড়া	sit down
জেগে ওঠা	wake up	শুয়ে পড়া	lie down

These are combinations with intransitive main verbs which themselves express an upward or downward movement.

In combinations with other verbs both ওঠা and পড়া imply suddenness or unexpectedness, though, in most cases, they are not interchangeable. More research needs to be done to find out which verbs combine with either ওঠা or পড়া, but Smith has identified two groups of verbs which characteristically form compounds with ওঠা or পড়া.

ওঠা can be combined with verbs expressing human or animal sounds and indicates the sudden onset of these sounds, eg

হেসে ওঠা *burst out laughing*, বলে ওঠা *say, blurt out*, বেজে ওঠা *ring (telephone)*,
চিৎকার করে ওঠা *shout, cry out*.

পড়া combines with verbs of motion to express suddenness:

এসে পড়া *turn up unexpectedly*, উঠে পড়া *get up*, বেরিয়ে পড়া *get out*,
টুকে পড়া *enter unexpectedly*.

The compound verb হয়ে পড়া tends to have negative connotations and describe some sort of decline, ie the original meaning of পড়া *fall* is at least partly retained. Examples are:

গরিব হয়ে পড়া *become poor*, দুর্বল হয়ে পড়া *become weak*, চিন্তিত হয়ে পড়া *become concerned*.

Zbavitel has found two cases where ওঠা and পড়া are interchangeable. These are:

ব্যস্ত হয়ে ওঠা or পড়া *become worried*, কঁদে ওঠা or পড়া *start weeping*.

বসা - sit

Smith says that বসা in compound verbs describes 'exaggerated, inappropriate or impudent actions' (p 158). The translations of his example sentences are, however, relatively tame. Zbavitel stresses suddenness and unexpectedness in compounds with বসা, but all his example sentences contain adverbs like হঠাৎ *suddenly*, প্রায় *almost*, so that the factor of suddenness does not emerge from the verb alone.

What both যাওয়া and বসা add to a verb like বলা *say*, if anything, is the sense that *he won't be saying anything more*, which is a completive aspect. I am sure that an environment can be created where বসা has the connotations Smith ascribes to it, but, to err on the safe side, I would say that বসা adds a shade of finality to the main verb, nothing more.

দেওয়া - give

Zbavitel calls this the least problematic of the compound makers. It can add finality to an action, as in

বলে দেওয়া *say, tell*, রেখে দেওয়া *keep, put away*, পাঠিয়ে দেওয়া *send*, ছেড়ে দেওয়া *give up*,
ফেলে দেওয়া *throw away*,

or it can imply that the action is carried out for the benefit of someone else. Examples for this are:

লিখে দেওয়া *write for someone*, বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া *explain*, করে দেওয়া *do for someone*,
 দিয়ে দেওয়া *give away*, এনে দেওয়া *bring for someone*

Smith points out the frequent combination of দেওয়া with causative verbs. Examples for these, in opposition with যাওয়া *go* as its intransitive counterpart, are given on page 78.

নেওয়া -take

What দেওয়া *give* does for others, নেওয়া *take* does for itself. To show the contrast between the two compound makers, here are some examples with identical main verbs:

for others		for self	
খুলে দেওয়া	open for sb	খুলে নেওয়া	open for self
লিখে দেওয়া	write for sb	লিখে নেওয়া	write for self
করে দেওয়া	do for sb	করে নেওয়া	do for self
মুছিয়ে দেওয়া	wipe for sb	মুছিয়ে নেওয়া	wipe for self

As far as I can see, নেওয়া does not have the nuance of finality that দেওয়া can have. In compounds like মুছিয়ে নেওয়া *wipe for self* there is a fair amount of its original meaning left in নেওয়া. The compound could also be translated as *wipe and then take*.

তোলা - raise, lift

This verb is simply the causal counterpart of ওঠা. It combines with transitive, and often causative verbs. Both Zbavitel and Smith give lists of examples where compounds with তোলা correspond directly to their intransitive counterparts with ওঠা.

Some of these are:

with তোলা		with ওঠা	
করে তোলা	cause to be	হয়ে ওঠা	become
সারিয়ে তোলা	nurse back to health	সেরে ওঠা	recover
জাগিয়ে তোলা	wake sb up	জেগে ওঠা	wake up
বাঁচিয়ে তোলা	save	বঁচে ওঠা	survive
বাড়িয়ে তোলা	make grow	বেড়ে ওঠা	grow

Just like ওঠা, তোলা can have connotations of upward movement or sudden change.

ফেলা - throw

ফেলা is undoubtedly one of the most interesting compound makers because it can invoke a great variety of meanings in a sentence, including highly emotional ones, and also because it renounces its own original meaning so thoroughly.

Bykova ascribes to it: quick energetic actions, unexpectedness, suddenness, rudeness. Smith adds force or violence and I would also include thoroughness. Some examples with their implications:

আমি তাকে সব বলে ফেলেছি। *I have (inadvertantly but irrevocably) told him everything.*

সে তোমাকে দেখে ফেলেছে। *He has already seen you.* can imply: you don't need to hide anymore.

সে মাংস খেয়ে ফেলেছে। *He has eaten up all the meat.* implies: he was supposed to leave some, but now there is none left.

The interpretation of these sentences depends on the context, but it becomes clear very quickly what a wide range of meanings ফেলা can have.

ফেলা is the only transitive compound maker which can be used with intransitive perfective participles. Traditionally quoted are কেঁদে ফেলা *burst into tears*, and হেসে ফেলা *burst out laughing*. Syntactically, these combinations are unexpected. A transitive verb requires an object and without it the sentence is incomplete. ফেলা is undoubtedly the compound maker which has developed the furthest from its original meaning and function, but it is hard to believe that the need for a direct object is no longer felt. Is it possible that the perfective participles কেঁদে and হেসে themselves could function as direct objects?

রাখা - keep, put

রাখা is accepted as a compound maker only by some authors (Zbavitel, Sarkar, Smith, Pal, Bykova). There is no doubt that রাখা can form very close connections with verbs, eg লুকিয়ে রাখা *hide*, বলে রাখা *say* (the implication is that whatever needed to be said is now out in the open), খুলে রাখা *keep open*. The reason for not accepting রাখা as a compound maker is, most likely, that its original meaning is largely retained. The shade of meaning it adds to the compound can be that of prolongation (Smith) or of completion (Dakshi), but it does not entirely lose its own meaning.

থাকা - stay, remain , আছ- be

These two verbs, virtually synonymous, add to a compound the sense of either remaining in one particular state, when the main verb is stative, eg

শুয়ে থাকা *remain lying down*, বসে আছ *remain sitting*, দাঁড়িয়ে থাকা *remain standing*,

or with active verbs they can convey a meaning of habitual or repetitive actions:

গেয়ে থাকা *keep singing*, কথা বলে থাকা *keep talking*, চেয়ে থাকা *keep looking*.

আছ- is an incomplete verb with only simple present and past tense - in all other tenses it is replaced with forms of থাকা. Though the examples given are both common and idiomatic, it is clear from the translations that থাকা is another verb which, in its role of compound maker, retains quite a lot of its original meaning.

other verbs

We have so far accepted that, in order to qualify as a compound maker, a verb which follows a perfective participle of another verb has to either change or lose its original meaning, which can result in semantic merging of the two verbs. We have also accepted that these types of verbs can combine with a number of preceding perfective participles and consistently add particular

semantic colouring to their meanings. What, then, is the relationship between the verb forms in these two sentences?

অনেকে গুর দিকে তাকিয়ে দেখল।

Many people stared at her.

আমি আর আমার বন্ধু বিমল দৌড়ে পাললাম।

I and my friend Bimal ran away. (both Smith, p 134)

In both sentences we have a semantic merging of two more or less synonymous verbs which means that these combinations have to be considered compounds. However, neither দেখা *see* nor পালানো *flee* can easily combine with other verbs and they do not add semantic colouring to the preceding perfective participle, so there is no question of considering either of these two verbs as compound makers. The examples show that a potential for semantic merging is not restricted to the type of compound makers discussed in this chapter.

9. SUMMARY

Zbavitel makes a very valid point when he says: 'I am not at all sure that this combination (নিয় আসা, translateable as *bring* - one concept) is felt as one semantic unit by Bengalis themselves, which is, of course, much more important than its interpretation by foreigners' (p 75). Animesh Pal also points out twice in his article that any English translation of compound verbs can be an approximation only. This means whether a pp + verb construction is a compound verb or a sequence of actions cannot be determined by the translation into English. If we accept the definition of a compound verb as a single, indivisible semantic unit then our semantic interpretations have to be made on the basis of Bengali, not of English. Bengali also has a single semantic unit for the concept *bring*, namely the verb আনা, and, if for a speaker of English নিয়ে আসা and আনা seem synonymous, they are probably not synonymous to a Bengali speaker. If I were asked to explain the difference between the two, I would say that with নিয়ে আসা the main stress is on the fact of *coming*, whereas with আনা the actual *coming* is not as important as the *bringing*. But, then again, this is an interpretation by a foreigner.

I am not happy with defining a word class on purely semantic grounds, but, even if we accept this for the moment, the either-or solution that Zbavitel, Pal and Seely seem to suggest does not do justice to the variety of functions second component verbs in Bengali can take.

Clinton Seely uses the term **auxiliary** for compound makers which, in combination with another verb, lose their lexical meaning and 'instead add a nuance to the *meaningful* verb which they follow' (p 149). In cases, according to Seely, where the compound maker retains its meaning, however, the term **auxiliary** is not appropriate. I agree with him on the need for a distinction between structures like পড়ে যাওয়া (the meaning of যাওয়া *go* is lost) and নিয়ে যাওয়া (the meaning of যাওয়া is retained), but what about cases where the role of যাওয়া is not so clear-cut? With the compounds of movement, for instance, চলে যাওয়া *go away*, ঘুরে যাওয়া *move around*, বেরিয়ে যাওয়া *go out*, and even থেকে যাওয়া *stay longer*, যাওয়া retains some, if not quite a lot, of its lexical meaning. Should these uses of যাওয়া be considered nothing more than arbitrary verb sequences? It may be more appropriate to suggest that between the two extreme points of:

পড়ে যাওয়া - one single, indivisible semantic unit, where the meaning of the compound maker is completely lost

on the one hand, and

বলে লিখা - two verbs syntactically linked, but semantically independent

on the other, there exists a scale of connectedness which would look something like this. 'Lexical meaning' refers to the extent to which the compound maker retains its original meaning:

one semantic unit, eg	one unit with some lexical meaning, eg	quite a lot of lexical meaning, eg	separate, eg
পড়ে যাওয়া <i>fall</i>	ভুলে যাওয়া <i>forget</i>	থেকে যাওয়া <i>go later</i>	বলে লেখা <i>say and write</i>
ভেঙ্গে যাওয়া <i>get broken</i>	বেড়িয়ে যাওয়া <i>increase</i>	নিয়ে যাওয়া <i>take</i>	বসে বলা <i>sit and say</i>
হারিয়ে যাওয়া <i>get lost</i>	চলে যাওয়া <i>go away</i>	রেখে যাওয়া <i>leave behind</i>	খেয়ে যাওয়া <i>eat and go</i>
হয়ে যাওয়া <i>happen</i>	এসে যাওয়া <i>arrive</i>	চালিয়ে যাওয়া <i>continue</i>	কাজ করে আসা <i>come back after working</i>
শুকিয়ে যাওয়া <i>dry</i>	চলে আসা <i>come back</i>	ছেড়ে যাওয়া <i>give up</i>	etc, any arbitrary verb sequence
কেটে যাওয়া <i>be cut</i>	ফিরে আসা <i>return</i>	রেখে আসা <i>leave behind</i>	
ফেলে দেওয়া <i>throw away</i>	বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া <i>explain</i>	নিয়ে আসা <i>bring</i>	
রেখে দেওয়া <i>put away</i>	ছেড়ে দেওয়া <i>give up</i>	বলে থাকা <i>keep saying</i>	
বলে দেওয়া <i>say</i>	নামিয়ে দেওয়া <i>drop off</i>	শুয়ে থাকা <i>lie down</i>	
ভেঙ্গে ফেলা <i>break</i>	মেনে নেওয়া <i>obey, mind</i>	বসে থাকা <i>sit down</i>	
খেয়ে ফেলা <i>eat up</i>	ভেঙ্গে পড়া <i>break down</i>	লুকিয়ে রাখা <i>hide</i>	

Let me, at this point, come back to the question of the term **auxiliary**. Traditionally, the term **auxiliary** is used for verbs which are 'subordinate to the chief lexical verb in a verb phrase, helping to express such grammatical distinctions as tense, mood and aspect' (Crystal). They also cannot be used on their own. A distinction between word classes and sentence functions needs to be made here. The verb যাওয়া is, of course, a full verb in Bengali. If we (or Seely) want to call it a full verb in some contexts and an auxiliary in another, we need to justify this on more than purely semantic grounds. যাওয়া in connection with a preceding perfective participle can convey completion, as in হয়ে গেছে *over, finished*. The fact that these type of structures can be used to refer not only to past but also to future events, where the completive element is considerably weaker, shows that যাওয়া can lose not only its own lexical meaning but also its aspective potential. There is little more than a stylistic difference between these two sentences

বাচ্চারা বড় হবে। and বাচ্চারা বড় হয়ে যাবে।

Both sentences mean *The children will grow up.*

যাওয়া can be seen as having an auxiliary function in this type of sentence, but the more neutral term **compound maker** seems preferable and more accurate. It indicates that যাওয়া, and other verbs, can have the function, in particular contexts, to form compound verbs. The full verb যাওয়া *go* can then be marked in a dictionary as being able to form a variety of compounds with varying degrees of connectedness with the preceding verb.

There can be no doubt that structures like নিয়ে যাওয়া are common and idiomatic and should be treated differently from mere verbal sequences because the connectedness between the two verbs is very strong. The two structures পড়ে যাওয়া and নিয়ে যাওয়া appear to be structurally identical, but,

in fact, they are not, and the difference between them is perhaps more significant than has so far been taken into account. *নিয়ে যাওয়া* is the combination of a transitive verb *নেওয়া* *take* with an intransitive compound maker *যাওয়া* *go*, whereas in *পড়ে যাওয়া* both verbs are intransitive. In order to distinguish between verbal combinations of the type Seely discusses, the transitivity factor adds a structural dimension to a semantic one, and could, therefore, provide a more solid basis for defining word classes.

The question of transitivity harmony is raised by Probal Dasgupta and I believe that it can be taken further.

As an example he gives *লিখে ফেলা* (both transitive), and *বসে পড়া* (both intransitive) but it is not possible to form a compound verb **লিখে পড়া* (transitive verb + intransitive compound maker) or **বসে ফেলা* (intransitive verb + transitive compound maker). Any number of mixed transitivity compounds can, of course, be found, but it is a one-way process. Intransitive compound makers combine with transitive verbs, but not the other way round. The exception to this is *ফেলা* in compounds with *কাঁদা* and *হাসা* (see under *ফেলা*). In the examples above there is one other intransitive - transitive compound *ভেঙ্গে ফেলা* *break*. I suspect that *ভেঙ্গে* in this case is an abbreviated form of the causative *ভাঙ্গিয়ে*, a fairly common phenomenon in Bengali. Other examples which have come up in this chapter are: *ভরে দেওয়া* for *ভরিয়ে দেওয়া* *fill*, *ছিঁড়ে দেওয়া* for *ছিঁড়িয়ে দেওয়া* *tear*, *মিশে দেওয়া* for *মিশিয়ে দেওয়া* *mix*. I find this structure more easily acceptable than *হেসে ফেলা*. I can only assume that compounds with *ফেলা* as a compound maker have become so common that *ফেলা* in this context is no longer felt to be a transitive verb. This may be syntactically unsatisfactory, but language changes do not always happen according to grammatical principles.

To sum up: In the analysis of compound verbs and in trying to define what criteria need to be fulfilled in order for a verb combination to be considered a compound verb, a lot of attention has been given to the concept of semantic oneness. Only if the second verb form has lost its original meaning (Smith, Seely), only if the verbs together form one single indivisible semantic unit (Pal, Zbavitel), will the combination be recognised as a compound verb. More often than not, the criterion for the 'one semantic idea' concept seems to be based on translation. We have *ভুলে যাওয়া* *forget* and *নিয়ে যাওয়া* *take*. According to Zbavitel's criteria, *ভুলে যাওয়া* would be acceptable as a compound verb whereas *নিয়ে যাওয়া* would be disqualified because *যাওয়া* retains its meaning.

I do not doubt that verbs like *বসা*, *ওঠা*, *পড়া* etc take on a different function and also a different meaning in their role as compound makers, but their meanings seem hard to pin down to one or two concepts. Muhammad interprets the input of *ওঠা* with different verbs as 1. beginning an action, 2. finishing an action and 3. being able to do something (Muhammad, p 49). This may be an extreme case, but it seems that intransitive compound makers, particularly, are capable of a great variety in shades of meaning. In order to understand the concept of compound verbs better, we need to look beyond semantic considerations. If transitivity harmony is given serious thought, then a three-way split in the interpretation of verbal compounds will be more appropriate than the all-or-nothing definition which has prevailed so far. On the one hand we will have verbal combinations which are chronological sequences without any kind of connectedness between the two verb forms. On the other hand there are verb combinations, where both verbs are either

transitive or intransitive. These combinations are capable of forming single semantic units and the meaning of the second component verb form can be either transformed or lost completely, as in, for instance, ফেলে দেওয়া *throw away*, ছেড়ে দেওয়া *give up*, কেঁদে ওঠা *burst out crying*, বসে পড়া *sit down*. In between those two groups is the large group of mixed transitivity compounds in which the two verbs can be closely connected but do not merge together. Both ভুলে যাওয়া *forget* and নিয়ে যাওয়া *take* combine a transitive verb with an intransitive compound maker and the supposed semantic difference between them is based on English concepts and is unlikely to be felt by native speakers.

Instead of a polarised all -or - nothing definition (Zbavitel):

sequence of actions	compound verbs
syntactically linked but semantically separate	single semantic unit

we would have the following three way split:

sequence of actions	compound verbs (mixed)	compound verbs (pure)
syntactically linked but semantically separate	mixed transitivity, verbs can be closely linked but do not 'merge'	transitivity harmony verbs can 'merge' and represent a single semantic unit
eg দেখে বলা <i>having seen, say</i>	নিয়ে আসা <i>bring</i>	পড়ে যাওয়া <i>fall down</i> বলে দেওয়া <i>tell, say</i>

I believe that this interpretation is closer to how Bengali speakers experience their own language. Even if the compound maker বসা *sit* does not retain its original meaning in a compound like বলে বসা *say* (with a variety of possible connotations), a residual separateness between the two verbs remains. In fact, the range of a compound maker like যাওয়া, from losing its own meaning completely (হয়ে যাওয়া *become, happen*) to retaining it fully (নিয়ে যাওয়া *take away*) can only make us acknowledge the flexibility of Bengali language structures.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Frequent Compound Verbs

Appendix 2 Compound Makers

CHAPTER 3

POSTPOSITIONS

There has been virtually no research done on Bengali postpositions*. W.L. Smith and W.S. Milne have lists of postpositions with examples and Chatterji discusses the origin of a number of postpositions, but no detailed analysis has been done so far.

For this reason the shape of this chapter will be somewhat different from chapters on grammatical structures that have been well researched. After a brief consideration of Chatterji, Milne and Smith's work I propose to do a preliminary analysis of Bengali postpositions myself. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to deal with all the postpositions Milne lists - he has 108! - so I will concentrate on those postpositions which are in common use today.

*This turns out to be wrong as I found when I had finished writing the chapter. Rashida Begum has done an extensive analysis of Bengali postposition within the parameters of Government and Binding theory. Her book was published by the Bangla Academy in 1999 and I found it quite by accident.

She used a series of tests to establish whether particular postpositions are governing (শাসক) or not, for instance by inserting an adverbial ঠিক *exactly* between noun and postposition or adding the determiner টা to the postposition. These show that it is possible to say বাড়ির ঠিক সামনে *directly in front of the house*, দুপুরের ঠিক আগে *just before midday*, or উপরেরটা *the one on top*, পাশেরটা *the one at the side* but not *তোমার ঠিক জন্যে, সম্বন্ধে **exactly for, about you* etc. What her tests achieve is to separate postpositions which can also be used as adverbs from those which cannot. Her list of postpositions is all-inclusive, far longer than Milne's, including locatives like মাথায় *at the top of*, মুখে *at the front of*, কারণে *because of*, বুকে *in the middle of*. Although I myself would put a limit on these inclusions, it is interesting to see that a (presumably) native speaker can apparently perceive these locatives as something other than ordinary noun forms. Her list of postpositions with example sentences is, of course, of immense value. It is given as an appendix.

THE AUTHORS

S.K. Chatterji

In *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* Chatterji has a chapter on postpositions which looks at the development of nouns and verb forms with a postpositional function. He has a number of postpositions which are not included in Smith's and Milne's lists. These are, using his terms:

করিতে *doing*, করে *having done*, কর্তৃক *having as the doer*, ঘরে *in the house*, চাহিতে used in comparison, চেয়ে used in comparison, ঠাই *place*, তরে *for, for the sake of*, থানে used to express dative and locative relations, বই *without, apart from*, লেগে *for the sake of*, সনে *with*, সুক্ক used to indicate the dative of inclusion.

Chatterji is not consistent in the way he treats his postpositions. Sometimes there is an English equivalent, eg তরে *for, for the sake of*; sometimes there is a functional explanation, eg থানে 'used

with the genitive to express the dative and locative relations' (p 770) This kind of explanation is difficult to understand and made more difficult by the frequent lack of examples. Other entries have English equivalents, functional explanations and examples.

The following postpositions seem questionable to me:

করে, translated as *having done* and explained as 'added to the locative oblique in -e- to denote the instrumental' and 'used with an adverbial force after adjectives and nouns' (p 767). Examples given are জোর করে *forcibly*, টান করে *tightly*, ভাল করে *well*. Although I agree with his translations and with his comment on 'adverbial force', I fail to see the connection with postpositions.

If you compare the following two sentences:

1) আমি তোমার সঙ্গে যাবো। *I will go with you.* and

2) আমি ভালো করে ধুয়েছি। *I washed (it) well.*

it becomes immediately obvious that the two sentence structures are quite different. In sentence 1) the postposition *সঙ্গে* puts the subject of the sentence আমি into a position, a relationship with the rest of the sentence. In sentence 2) ভালো করে makes a comment on the verb of the sentence only, ie it is an adverb. The function of করে is purely grammatical, changing an adjective into an adverb. It can certainly not be considered a postposition.

ঘরে, ঘরে translated as *house, in the house*. Again Chatterji's explanation is not very clear: 'used colloquially to indicate the oblique cases in the plural' (p 768). Unfortunately he does not give an example of this, but he seems to imply that ঘরে is used instead of a plural ending. If this is the way ঘরে is used it cannot be considered a postposition in our sense of the word.

চাহিতে and চেয়ে are both given as being used in comparison. Chatterji's only example is in Hindi, but the use of চেয়ে in comparison is, of course, very common. The two sentences:

1) আমি তোমার চেয়ে লম্বা। *I am taller than you.* and

2) আমি তোমার সঙ্গে যাবো। *I will go with you.*

are structurally quite different. Whereas তোমার সঙ্গে is an independent constituent within the sentence, তোমার চেয়ে cannot be considered on its own. In fact, চেয়ে connects the two underlying sentences আমি লম্বা and তুমি লম্বা and should therefore be considered a conjunction.

One very interesting fact emerged for me from Chatterji's description of লেগে (with variations লাগে, লগে) as a postposition. In the villages around Nator in Bangladesh - it is probably more widespread than this - the word লগে is used in place of সঙ্গে in, what the village people call, their আঞ্চলিক ভাষা *dialect*. Now I understand where the word comes from.

W.S.Milne

Milne's chapter on postpositions contains a very extensive list of postpositions and examples of their uses. Many of the postpositions he gives are taken from literary texts and used only in sadhu bhasa. Some of them are outdated. There is a complete list of Milne's postpositions at the end of this chapter but, in order to give an impression of his choice of postpositions I have given a selection of them with examples. The unattributed examples are Milne's.

অগোচর	<i>beyond</i>	মানব বুদ্ধির অগোচর	<i>beyond human understanding</i>
		আমার অগোচরে	<i>without my knowledge</i>

	মনের অগোচরে পাপ নাই। <i>There is no sin beyond the ken of one's consciousness.</i>
অনুকল্পে <i>in lieu of</i>	মধুর অনুকল্পে গুড় দাও। <i>Give molasses in lieu of honey.</i>
অনুকূলে <i>on the side of</i>	তার অনুকূলে বিচার হইল। <i>Judgment went in his favour.</i>
উর্দ্ধে <i>aloft, high, above</i>	তুমিই সমস্ত ভূমণ্ডলের উর্দ্ধে পরাংপর <i>You are the highest above the earth. (Psalm 97,9)</i>
খাতিরে <i>out of regard for</i>	আপনার খাতিরে একাজ করিলাম। <i>I did this out of regard for you.</i> ধর্মের খাতিরে সত্য বলা উচিত। <i>On the score of religion it is good to speak the truth.</i>
গোচরে <i>in the presence of</i>	মিথ্যাবাদী আমার চক্ষুগোচরে স্থির থাকিবে না। <i>Liars will not stay calm before my eyes. (Psalm 101, 7)</i> তিনি জাতিগণের দৃষ্টিগোচরে আপন ধর্মশীলতা প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন। <i>He has revealed his righteousness before the nations. (Psalm 98, 2)</i>
ঘটিত <i>connected with, concerning</i>	জমিদারি কার্য্য ঘটিত আজকাল অনেক তর্কবিতর্ক চলিতেছে। <i>There is much discussion nowadays on Zemindari affairs.</i>
নিবন্ধন <i>because of</i>	তার অসুস্থতা নিবন্ধন সে আসতে পারে নাই। <i>He couldn't come because of his illness. (Ghulam Murshid)</i>
ন্যায় <i>like</i>	তিনি চিত্রাপিতের ন্যায় উপবিষ্ট হইয়া সখীদের নিমিত্ত ভাবনা করিতেছেন। <i>She is sitting like a figure in a picture, thinking of her companions.</i> পর্বত সকল মোমের ন্যায় গলিয়া গেল। <i>The mountains melt like wax. (Psalm 97,5)</i>
বরাবর <i>direct, to the address of</i>	তোমার বরাবর পত্র পাঠাইব। <i>I will send the letter to your address.</i> রাত্রি বরাবর বাড়ী পৌছিবে। <i>I shall reach home by night fall.</i>
বশতঃ <i>on account of</i>	আমি দৈবের প্রতিকূলতা বশতঃ অকৃতকার্য্য হইলাম। <i>I was unsuccessful owing to the unkindness of fate</i> বিনা কারনে সন্দেহবশতঃ স্ত্রীকে তড়না করে। <i>Without a reason on account of doubts he punishes his wife.</i> Rameshchandra Mojumder স্ত্রী জাতির অবস্থা (Advanced Bengali, p 254) ভুলবশতঃ তোমার নাম লেখা হয়েছে। <i>Your name was written by mistake. (Begum)</i>
বিধায় <i>because of</i>	নানা অসুবিধা বিধায় একাজ করিতে পারি নাই। <i>I could not do this work because of various difficulties.</i>
ব্যতিরেকে <i>without, besides</i>	প্রিয়জন বিরহ ব্যতিরেকে মনের এরূপ ব্যাকুলতা হয় না। <i>Such distress of mind comes not but from separation from one's beloved.</i> অভিজ্ঞতা ব্যতিরেকে পরিণামদর্শী হওয়া বড় কঠিন। <i>Without experience it is very difficult to be farsighted.</i>

ব্যতীত *without, besides*

অবমাননা ব্যতীত আমি আর সবই সহ্য করিতে পারি।

I can endure all things except dishonour.

সে ব্যতীত সেখানে কেউ ছিলো না।

No one was there apart from him. (Ghulam Murshid)

কল্পনা ব্যতীত সবাইকে পুরস্কার দেওয়া হবে।

*Everyone except Kolpona will get a prize. (Begum)*সংক্রান্ত *connected with, concerning*

সেনা সংক্রান্ত এই আজ্ঞা দাও যেন তাহারা উৎপীড়ন না করে।

*With regard to the soldiers issue orders prohibiting all
oppression.*সন্নিধানে *near*

রাজ্ঞী রাজার সন্নিধানে বসিতেছেন।

*The Queen is sitting near the king.*সমীপে *near*

রাজার সমীপে উপনীত হইয়া আশীর্বাদ করিলেন।

He came close to the king and blessed him.

তাহারা মরীবার জল সমীপে ও ঈশ্বরের কোপ জন্মাইল।

*By the water of Meriba they made God angry. (Psalm 106,32)*সমভিব্যাহারে *with*

রাজা একদা বহু সৈন্য সমভিব্যাহারে মুগয়ায় গিয়াছিলেন।

One day the king had gone hunting with a large army.

দুই শিষ্য শুকন্তলার সমভিব্যাহারে গমনের নিমিত্ত প্রস্তুত হইলেন।

*The two young ascetics were ready to go with Sakuntala.*সাক্ষাতে *in the presence of*রাজার সাক্ষাতে *in the presence of the king*তাহার সাক্ষাতে কম্পমান হও। *Tremble in his presence! (Psalm 96,9)*

তুমি রাখিয়াছ আমাদের অপরাধ সকল তোমার সাক্ষাতে।

*You have set our iniquities before you. (Psalm 90,8)*Under ছাড়া *except, without* Milne has a very interesting example sentence from Tagore:

কিন্তু আমি মরিয়াছি ছাড়া তোমার কাছে আর কি অপরাধ করিয়াছি।

What other fault have I committed in your eyes - apart from the fact that I am dead.

In this sentence ছাড়া follows a finite verb form. Milne says the example has to be carefully studied.

There is nothing wrong with studying, but I suspect that this is an unusual and highly individual use of this postposition. Functionally ছাড়া has to be considered a conjunction here.

Concerning another Tagore example:

ভোরের দিকে যাহারা কাঠ লইয়া আসিল তাহারা এই সংবাদ পাইল।

Those who had gone with wood in the early morning heard this news.

Milne calls this use of দিকে, in a temporal rather than a locative sense, anomalous. It may have been so at the time but there is nothing unusual about this use today.

W.L. Smith

Smith's listing of postpositions is very comprehensive and equipped with plenty of examples which clearly demonstrate the use of each postposition. For each postposition the case of

the preceding noun or pronoun is given so that students of Bengali should be able to use postpositions independently and correctly.

As Clinton Seely in his review of Smith's *Reference Grammar* shows, there are some discrepancies between the rules Smith states about preceding case endings and his examples. For instance, with the postposition দ্বারা *through* Smith claims that it follows a genitive, but in his examples দ্বারা follows nominative endings. Seely discusses these inconsistencies in detail in his review (lines 113 to 161), so I will not repeat them here.

I would like to make the following points:

- 1) For আগে *ago* the nominative case is given, as well as the genitive. This presumably refers to an adverbial use as in

তিন বছর আগে *three years ago*

Smith himself gives no example for this but if this use of আগে is included then পরে *later* with a preceding nominative should also be mentioned, eg

তিন বছর পরে *three years later*. The two constructions are exactly the same.

- 2) Under নিয়ে *with* Smith has the following two examples:

ঝি তার নাসদিদির জন্য চা নিয়ে ঢুকল। *The maid entered with tea for her nurse.* and
তৃতীয় ব্যক্তিটি স্ত্রীকে নিয়ে বড় রাস্তার দিকে চলে গেল।

The third individual went in the direction of the highway with his wife.

I can see no reason why নিয়ে in these two examples should be considered anything other than a perfective participle.

- 3) Smith lists ছেড়ে as a postposition. He gives the following examples:

বিছানা ছেড়ে উঠলাম। *I got up from the bed*

সিপাহীরা খাওয়া ছেড়ে উঠে এল। *The sepoy's got up from their meal and came.*

Could Smith's decision to include ছেড়ে be influenced by the English translation of these sentences? From a language-internal point of view I would interpret ছেড়ে as a perfective participle in both sentences

- 4) If বদলে *instead* is included as a postposition why not পরিবর্তে?
- 5) One of Smith's interpretations of থেকে is *by itself, of one's own volition* but his example sentences include words meaning *self*, ie আপনা থেকে, নিজে থেকে. Surely, this is where the meaning of these sentences comes from. নিজে থেকে sounds unusual. Would not নিজ থেকে be more normal? In any case, থেকে means nothing more than *from* in these sentences.
- 6) Smith mentions double postpositions like

নিচ পর্যন্ত *down to*

পাশ দিয়ে *by the side of*

ভিতর থেকে *from inside*

Sutton-Page says about this: 'Double postpositions are not uncommon. But this is generally a case in which the first postposition has really reverted to its original function as a noun' (p 134).

I agree with him.

DEFINITION

Prepositions, of which postpositions are a variation, are traditionally defined as indeclinable and as forming a 'closed lexical category' (Trask, p 215). The function of pre/ postpositions is to place a noun phrase in relationship to the rest of the sentence. This relationship can be either

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| spatial | <i>The book is on the table,</i> |
| temporal | <i>The post comes after nine o'clock,</i> or, for want of a better word, |
| circumstantial | <i>I know nothing about him.</i> |

Many languages have a fixed set of words which is used exclusively for this purpose, ie the German 'nach' *after* can never be anything other than a preposition. It can become part of a noun, eg 'Nachkomme' *descendant* or a verb, eg 'nachdenken' *think* but when it stands on its own it is always a preposition. Bengali works in a different way. The majority of Bengali postpositions are, in fact, nouns in the locative case, eg উপরে, ভিতরে, পাশে, পরিবর্তে etc. Many of these are also used as ordinary nouns in nominative, genitive or locative case, eg

বাড়ির ভিতরটা খুব সুন্দর। *The inside of the house is very beautiful.*

এই পাশে কেউ বসতে পারে না। *Nobody is allowed to sit on this side.*

তোমার কোনো পরিবর্তন হয় নি। *You haven't changed at all.*

lit: *There hasn't been any change in you.*

Bengali postpositions are therefore not indeclinable.

In his book *Postpositions in a Dravidian Language* Radhakrishnan Mallassery sets out a list of criteria for identifying postpositions. One of these is that postpositions 'cannot be separated from noun phrases by morphemes other than coordinate conjunctions' (p136). This is true for most, but not all postpositions in Bengali. Both spatial and temporal postpositions can be preceded by adjuncts - this confirms Begum's ঠিক test, mentioned on page 91. Examples for these are:

দুপুরের একটু আগে *a little before midday*

ঈদের কয়েকদিন পরে *a few days after Eid*

গাড়ির দুই মাইল পিছনে *two miles behind the car*

মেঘের অনেক উপরে *high above the clouds*

Postpositions which allow this sort of structure are only those which can be used as adverbs without a preceding genitive. The fact that they follow a genitive in these examples shows that Bengali postpositions have to be seen under a different set of criteria from those Mallasserey proposes. Other postpositions like জন্যে *for*, সঙ্গে *with*, মত *like*, সম্বন্ধে *about*, cannot be separated from the noun or pronoun preceding them.

Although it is quite easy to make a list of common Bengali postpositions, they do not represent a closed word class. If words like সম্পর্কে *about* (Smith), বাদে *except* (Smith), বিষয়ে *about* (both Smith and Milne), হিসাবে *as* (Smith) are listed as postpositions then why not add words like ব্যাপারে *about*, ফলে *because of*?

In order to establish a definition which is acceptable to native Bengali speakers the question we need to ask is which of the nouns used as postpositions are felt by a native speaker to be nouns and which ones are used predominantly as postpositions and so have lost their nominal character. Or, to take a step back, the question should be: is there a lexical category of postpositions in Bengali?

There are only very few postpositions which are derived from neither noun nor verb. Examples for these are মত *like* and জন্য, জন্যে *for*, বিনা *without*, প্রতি *towards*. Another word পর্যন্ত *until*, is almost invariably used as a postposition, but it is also a noun meaning *limit, end, extremity*, eg আমার পর্যন্ত চলে এসেছি। *I have reached my limit.*

All other words which function as postpositions in Bengali are either derived from a noun (often in the locative) or from a verb (often, but not always, in the past participle form). The conclusion of this is that there is no fixed, lexical category of postpositions in Bengali - instead verbs and nouns are used to fulfil the functions of postpositions.

Deverbal postpositions are fairly easy to define and to limit. The way they are used differs from their ordinary verbal use, eg

আমি বাড়ি থেকে এসেছি। *I have come from home.*

In this sentence থেকে can only be a postposition. The verbal form থেকে *having stayed* would require the previous noun to be in the locative case. The sentence

আমি বাড়িতে থেকে এসেছি। should be understood as *Having stayed at home, I have come.*

থেকে in this sentence is the past participle of থাকা, not a postposition.

All deverbal postpositions must differ clearly from their equivalent verb forms in their syntactic or semantic environment.

The criteria for denominal postpositions are much more difficult to define. Whether or not a particular locative noun form should be classed as a postposition can surely not depend on its English translation but has to be based on the perception of native speakers and on semantic and syntactic features. If a particular noun is used almost exclusively as a postposition or if its use as a postposition affects its syntactic or semantic environment then it should be included in a potential definitive list of postpositions. Instances of these are আগে *before*, which is the locative of the noun আগ *front, forepart*. আগে is very frequently used as a

postposition তোমার আগে এসেছি। *I came before you.*

or as an adverb তুমি আগে যাও। *You go first.*

The noun আগ *front, forepart* is locative in meaning, but আগে as a postposition or adverb is almost always temporal. The connection with the original noun has weakened and it has become a word in its own right.

The word সঙ্গে *with* has moved away semantically from its root সঙ্গ *company, association*, eg

তাকে তোমার সঙ্গে তুলনা করতে পারি না। *I can't compare him with you.*

Similarly, the word উপর *top, upper part*, though frequently used in contexts other than as a postposition has taken on a variety of idiomatic uses as a postposition, eg

কারও উপরে রাগ করা *be angry with someone*

দুই মাসের উপরে *more than two months*

তার উপরে শুনেছি *in addition to that I heard*

These uses of locative noun forms clearly justify a separate dictionary entry and inclusion in the lexical category of postpositions. In other cases the decision is more difficult.

Smith includes

উদ্দেশ্যে	<i>with the intention of, in order to</i>	স্ত্রী - শিক্ষার উদ্দেশ্যে	<i>for female education</i>
বদলে	<i>instead of</i>	দেশী ভাষার বদলে ইংরেজি ভাষা শেখানো	<i>teaching English instead of local languages</i>
বাদে	<i>translated as after</i>	দু'বছর বাদে	<i>after two years</i>
বিষয়ে	<i>about, regarding</i>	মেয়েটার বিষয়ে	<i>about the girl</i>
সম্পর্কে	<i>in relation to, regarding</i>	আমার বাবা মার সম্পর্কে	<i>about my parents</i>
হিসাবে	<i>as, in the capacity of</i>	খাবার-ঘর হিসাবে	<i>as a dining room</i>

I doubt that native speakers would classify these words any differently from, for instance,

ফলে	<i>as a result of, because of</i>	তোমার কাজের ফলে	<i>because of your work</i>
ব্যাপারে	<i>about</i>	তার পড়াশোনার ব্যাপারে	<i>about his studies</i>
হাতে	<i>by</i>	বাবার হাতে তৈরি	<i>made by father.</i>

We must take note, however, of Rashida Begum's comprehensive list, mentioned on p 91, the more so as it is not apparent what her criteria for choosing these postpositions were.

For learners of Bengali there is an obvious need for a lexical category equivalent to prepositions in other languages. However, it is important to recognize that

- the exclusion from or inclusion in this category is somewhat arbitrary-
for *instead* Smith has বদলে, but not পরিবর্তে; Milne has বদলে, পরিবর্তে and অনুকল্পে
- Bengali nouns which can be translated with an English preposition should not necessarily be considered a postposition. Some language-internal criteria should be fulfilled.
- the nouns which can function as postpositions can also be used in other contexts, ie as subject of a sentence, eg ঘরের ভিতরটা খুব সুন্দর। *The inside of the house is very beautiful.*
- verb forms which are used as postpositions are also used as normal verb forms.

CHARACTERISTICS AND DISTRIBUTION OF POSTPOSITIONS

Postpositions follow a noun phrase. This can be either a noun or a pronoun. The function of the postposition is to set this noun phrase into spatial, temporal or circumstantial relationship to the rest of the sentence. Most postpositions fulfil only one of these functions, eg নিচে *below, beneath* is always spatial. Some postpositions can be used for more than one function, eg থেকে *from*

spatial:	এখান থেকে	<i>from here</i>
temporal:	কালকে থেকে	<i>from tomorrow</i>

Many postpositions, particularly those derived from nouns, require the preceding noun to be in the genitive, but there are exceptions to this. In his review of Smith's Reference Grammar Clinton Seely points to the difficulty for the learner of knowing which postposition goes with which case ending. Ramendrasundar Tribedi, in his article কারক প্রকারক, says on the subject: 'বিভক্তি-চিহ্ন কোথায় থাকিবে বা থাকিবে না, তাহার সম্বন্ধে কোনও বাঁধাবাঁধি নিয়ম নাই।' (Azad, p 404), ie no fixed rule about case endings! He goes on to say that case endings tend to be dropped in colloquial language 'লোকমুখে প্রচলিত আধুনিক ভাষাগুলির বিভক্তি-চিহ্ন ত্যাগ করাই স্বভাব।' (p 405)

However, the number of postpositions where there is confusion about the preceding noun case is relatively small. Some postpositions distinguish between animate and inanimate nouns, ie with animate nouns an accusative ending is required, eg

animate (accusative) তাকে নিয়ে কথা বলেছি। *We talked about him.*

inanimate (nominative) অত পয়না নিয়ে কি করবে? *What will you do with so many ornaments?*

The majority of postpositions is consistently used with only one case.

Derivations

In the following section I am dealing with the individual postpositions in their normal alphabetical order, so here is an overview of their derivations:

1. জন্য, জন্যে *for*, দ্বারা *through*, ন্যায় *like*, পর্যন্ত *until*, প্রতি *towards*, বিনা *without*, মত, মতন *like*, মারফত *through, by*

All of these are not derived from any other word classes, but are postpositions in their own right. The very common জন্যে instead of জন্য looks like a locative form but there is no such noun. পর্যন্ত is given in the dictionary as a noun *limit, end* but I have found no examples for this use. If পর্যন্ত was derived from a noun it would be most unusual for it to be in the nominative form.

2. ছাড়া *without, except*, থেকে *from*, দিয়ে *by, through*, ধরে *during*, নিয়ে *with*, হইতে *from*, হয়ে *through, via*

These are all derived from verbs but their syntactic or semantic environment has changed from the original verb forms to such an extent that they have become independent lexical items. ছাড়া and হতে, হইতে are unusual in that they appear in the verbal noun (ছাড়া) and infinitive (হতে, হইতে) form, not as perfective participles like the other deverbal postpositions.

3. All the remaining postpositions are derived from nouns. They can be divided as follows:

a) spatial	উপরে	<i>on, above</i>	নিচে	<i>under, below</i>
	বাহিরে	<i>out, outside of</i>	ভিতরে	<i>in, inside of</i>
	সামনে	<i>in front of</i>	পিছনে	<i>behind</i>
	পাশে	<i>beside</i>	কাছে	<i>near, at, to</i>
	মধ্যে	<i>between</i>	মাঝে	<i>between</i>
	দিকে	<i>towards</i>		
b) temporal	আগে	<i>before</i>	পরে	<i>after</i>
c) circumstantial	সঙ্গে	<i>with</i>	সম্মুখে	<i>about</i>
	বিরুদ্ধে	<i>against</i>	মাধ্যমে	<i>through</i>
	পক্ষে	<i>for</i>	বদলে	<i>instead</i>
	পরিবর্তে	<i>instead</i>		

Apart from these there are a number of locative noun forms which are used like postpositions but retain their nominal character to such an extent that they cannot really be considered postpositions.

Some of these are listed on page 98, others are given in the conclusions to this chapter.

The structures

In this section I am going to look at the most common words which function as postpositions in Bengali. Since these words do not form a homogenous word class I have also included their non-postpositional uses as adverbs, nouns etc.

In order for a word to qualify as a postposition, at least one of the following criteria should be met

- the word is an original postposition
- there is a semantic shift from the root word to the postposition
- there is a syntactic change when a word is used as a postposition - this will usually refer to the case ending of the preceding noun phrase
- use as a postposition is significantly more common than use of the root word
- The analysis of these postpositions aims to establish
- the case ending of the preceding noun or pronoun
- the relationship with the root word
- the semantic range of the postposition
- other, eg adverbial, uses

আগে - *before, ago* locative of noun আগ *front, forepart*

When আগে is used as a postposition the noun or pronoun preceding it takes the genitive ending,

eg

যাওয়ার আগে	<i>before going</i>
সবার আগে	<i>in front of everyone or before everyone</i>
রবিবারের আগে	<i>before Sunday</i>

but as an adverb it can also follow a noun in the nominative case, eg

তিন বছর আগে	<i>three years ago</i>
আধা ঘণ্টা আগে	<i>half an hour ago</i>
একবার আগে	<i>once before</i>

The last example is somewhat different from the other two because আগে in this case is used as an independent adverb. It is equally possible to say:

আগে একবার	<i>once before</i>
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Other examples of this are:

আগে খেয়ে নাও।	<i>Eat first!</i>
একটু আগে আসো।	<i>Come a bit earlier!</i>
আমি আগে জানতাম না।	<i>I didn't know(this) before.</i>
আমি অনেক আগে এসেছি।	<i>I came a long time ago.</i>

আগে is most often used in a temporal sense. As a postposition it has moved away from its nominal root, which is locative in meaning, and established its own use. In this temporal sense আগে can also be used nominally and followed by another postposition, as in:

আগের মত	<i>as before</i>
আগের চেয়ে ভালো	<i>better than before</i>
আগে থেকে	<i>since before</i>

Colloquially, আগে is sometimes used in a locative sense, in the same way as সামনে *in front of*, eg
আর একটু আগে থামবো। *I will stop a little further on.*

উদ্দেশ্যে - *in order to, with the purpose of* locative of noun উদ্দেশ্য *aim, purpose*

উদ্দেশ্যে usually follows a noun in the genitive, eg

স্ত্রী-শিক্ষার উদ্দেশ্যে *for female education* (better: *for the education of females*)

প্রদর্শনের উদ্দেশ্যে *for the purpose of showing* (both Smith)

Milne also gives the following example:

তুমি কি উপলক্ষতাহার অঙ্গুলিতে অঙ্গুরীয় পরাইয়া দিয়াছিলে? কি উদ্দেশ্যে?

On what occasion did you place a ring on her finger? With what intention?

The locative (in Milne's example nominative) of উদ্দেশ্য following the genitive of a noun does not differ syntactically from its root, nor has it changed or expanded its meaning significantly, ie it can invariably be translated as *for the purpose of*, eg

কলকাতা যাওয়ার উদ্দেশ্যে *for the purpose of going to Calcutta* (Das)

ভিসা পাওয়ার উদ্দেশ্যে *in order to get a visa* (Debsen)

Though উদ্দেশ্য is frequently used following the genitive of another noun this is by no means its only use. Therefore I do not think that উদ্দেশ্য should be classed as a postposition.

উপরে - *above, over, on* locative of noun উপর *top, upper part*

উপর, ওপর are variations

উপরে requires the preceding noun with a genitive ending when it is used as a postposition, eg

মেঘের উপরে *above the clouds*

টেবিলের উপরে *on the table*

নদীর উপরে *on the river*

It can be used as an independent adverb, usually with the meaning *upstairs*, eg

উপরে আরও দুইটা ঘর। *There are two more rooms upstairs.*

আমি উপরে কাজ করি। *I work upstairs.*

উপরে is spatial in meaning, but it has taken on a number of idiomatic uses where its original meaning is no longer felt, eg

তিন মাসের উপরে *more than three months*

আমার উপরে রাগ করে উঠেছে। *He became enraged against me.* (Milne)

আমি তোমার ওপর প্রসন্ন হব। *I will be pleased with you.* (Smith)

তার উপরে শুনেছি ... *in addition to that I heard* (Milne)

ছেলে পিলার উপর মায়ের স্নেহ *a mother's love for her child* (Milne)

ব্যাকরণের উপরে গবেষণা *research on grammar*

Although উপর as a noun is frequently used, in its function as a postposition উপরে has acquired independent meaning.

কাছে - *close, near, by, on (a person), with* locative of noun কাছ *nearness, proximity*

কাছে follows a preceding genitive, eg

আমাদের বাড়ি নদীর কাছে।	<i>Our house is near the river.</i>
আমার কাছে বসো।	<i>Sit next to me!</i>
তার কাছে আমি যাই না।	<i>I don't go near him.</i>
সে আমার খুব কাছে।	<i>She is very close to me.</i>

কাছে can also be used as an independent adverb without a preceding genitive, eg

সে কাছে চোখে দেখে না।	<i>She can't see anything close by.</i>
তুমি কাছে থাকো।	<i>Stay close!</i>

কাছে is locative in meaning, but, like উপরে, it has developed a number of idiomatic uses, which justify its place among Bengali postpositions. Examples are:

বাবার কাছে টাকা চাইবো।	<i>I will ask father for the money.</i>
আমার কাছে কি চাও?	<i>What do you want from me? (Smith)</i>
তিনি ওদের কাছে কিছু প্রকাশ করেন নি।	<i>He didn't reveal anything to them. (Bandopadhyay)</i>
আমার কাছে টাকা নেই।	<i>I don't have any money with me.</i>

The meaning of কাছে in these sentences stays closer to its original meaning than উপরে does but is still sufficiently different to warrant a separate dictionary entry.

ছাড়া - *besides, without, apart from* verbal noun/adjective form of verb ছাড়া *leave*

ছাড়া is an unusual postposition in that its form is equivalent to a verbal noun/adjective rather than a perfective participle form like most other deverbal postpositions. There seems to be some confusion about the case endings of nouns and pronouns preceding ছাড়া. Smith gives 'nominative, optional accusative with animates' (p 78). Bykova names all cases except the genitive as possibilities; Sutton-Page allows only the nominative. The logical and immediately obvious solution comes from Seely, in his review of Smith's *Reference Grammar*: ছাড়া can, in fact, be used with any case, depending on which part of the sentence the preceding noun or pronoun represents, eg

nominative	আমি ছাড়া সবাই গিয়েছে।	<i>Everybody went apart from me.</i>
accusative	তোমাকে ছাড়া আমি বাঁচতে পারি না।	<i>I can't live without you.</i>
genitive	আমার ছাড়া সবার ভালো লেগেছে।	<i>Except for me, everybody liked it.</i>
locative	সকালে ছাড়া যেকোনো সময় আসতে পারো।	<i>You can come anytime except in the morning.</i>

Apart from its unusual form equivalent to the verbal adjective - Chatterji calls it the passive participle - and the range of cases ছাড়া can combine with, semantically it is quite straightforward.

তা ছাড়া is used almost like a conjunction meaning *apart from that, in addition*, eg

সে আমাকে ভাত খাওয়াইয়েছে, তা ছাড়া আমার জুতা ও কিনে দেবে।	<i>He has fed me and apart from that he will buy me a pair of shoes.</i>
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জন্য, জন্যে -- *for, for the sake of, because of* postposition

জন্য is one of the few Bengali postpositions which are not derived from other word classes but are just postpositions. The noun or pronoun preceding জন্য is in the genitive. I have found no explanation for the two forms of this postposition. Both forms are used in the same way.

জন্য has a wide range of meanings, ie

about:	তার জন্যে চিন্তা করি।	<i>I worry about him.</i>
for:	তার জন্যে বই কিনেছি।	<i>I have bought a book for him.</i>
because of:	কাজের জন্যে দেরি হয়েছে।	<i>I am late because of work.</i>
for the sake of:	বাচ্চাদের জন্যে আমাকে থাকতে হবে।	<i>I have to stay for the sake of the children.</i>

The word *সেজন্যে* is used as a conjunction meaning *therefore, because of that*, eg

বৃষ্টি হচ্ছে, সেজন্যে বাইরে যাবো না। *It is raining, so I am not going out.*

This is the only example where *জন্যে* follows a nominative. The neuter pronouns *এই* and *তা* are used with *জন্যে* to express the same meaning *therefore* but both require a genitive ending, eg

আমার জ্বর হয়েছে। তার জন্যে আসতে পারি নি। *I had a fever, that's why I couldn't come.*

উনি ঘুমাচ্ছেন, এইর জন্যে এখন তাঁর সঙ্গে দেখা করতে পারবেন না।

He is asleep, so you can't see him now.

The same is true for the interrogative pronoun *কে* and the relative pronoun *যে*, eg

বইটা কার জন্যে কিনেছো? *For whom did you buy the book?*

যার জন্যে আমি কিনেছি সে নেবে না। *The person (he whom) I bought it for won't take it.*

থেকে - *from, since* perfective participle of *থাকা* *stay, remain*

Used as a postposition *থেকে* generally follows the nominative. Smith points out that verbal nouns preceding *থেকে* take the genitive, eg

কলেজে অধ্যাপনা করার থেকেই এই অভ্যাসটা হয়ে গেছে।

He has had this habit since he taught in college. (Smith)

থেকে can be used spatially

ঢাকা থেকে *from Dhaka*, কোথা থেকে *from where*, এখান থেকে *from here*

or temporally:

তখন থেকে *from then on, since then*, এই মাস থেকে *from this month onwards*,

আজ থেকে *from today*

থেকে can be used in conjunction with *পর্যন্ত* *until*

সোমবার থেকে শুক্রবার পর্যন্ত *from Monday to Friday*

to mark the beginning and end point of an event or in conjunction with *ধরে* *during*

আজ থেকে তিন সপ্তাহ ধরে *for three weeks from today*

to mark the beginning and duration of an event.

The postposition *থেকে* can be clearly distinguished from the perfective participle of *থাকা* by the case ending of the preceding noun. If the verbal form is used spatially it requires the preceding noun to be in the locative case, eg

আমাদের এখানে আর একটু থেকে যান। *Stay with us for a bit longer.*

থেকে is by far the most common of all the deverbal postpositions and it has moved furthest away from its verbal use. The following examples have no trace of the verbal meaning of *থেকে* left in them:

ওটা থেকে আমাকে মুক্তি দাও। *Release me from that.*

সেই থেকে কি যে হয়েছিল ওর কে জানে। *After that who knows what happened to him.*

সেই থেকে আমি আর কিছু বলি নি। *Because of that I didn't say anything more.*

(Bandyopadhyay)

The last example shows that, like *জন্মে for*, *থেকে* can have causal meaning in certain contexts.

With reference to human beings *থেকে* is used together with *কাছে near, close by*, eg

বাবার কাছে থেকে *from father*

আমার কাছে থেকে *from me*

In these cases *কাছে* reverts back to being a noun, dropping the locative ending. The rule that *থেকে* is used with non-human nouns and *কাছে থেকে* with humans seems to be generally observed. I have found only one counter example:

বড় রাস্তার কাছে থেকে *from the big road* (Bandyopadhyay)

There is one other use of *থেকে*. In comparative sentences it can be used in place of *চেয়ে than*, eg

মণি খোকার থেকে বয়সে সামান্য একটু ছোট *a little bit younger than the boy Moni* (Bandyopadhyay)

The preceding noun is in the genitive. In this use *থেকে* is a conjunction rather than a postposition.

দিকে - towards locative of noun *দিক direction*

Like most denominal postpositions, *দিকে* follows a noun or pronoun in the genitive. It is used mainly spatially, eg

বাড়ির দিকে চলল *went towards home* (Pather Pancali)

আকাশের দিকে চাহিলে *looking at the sky* (Pather Pancali)

উপরের দিকে উঠে গেল *went in the direction of upstairs* (Bandyopadhyay)

তার চোখের দিকে তাকিয়ে *having looked at him* (Bandyopadhyay)

but it can also be used temporally, eg

বৈকালের দিকে *towards afternoon* (Pather Pancali)

ভরের দিকে *towards dawn* (Tagore)

দিকে can also be used to express approximation, eg

পাঁচটার দিকে *at about five o'clock*

দশ মাইলের দিকে *about ten miles* (Probhas Das)

With demonstrative pronouns, as also with *চার* and *সব*, *দিকে* does not require a genitive, eg

এই দিকে আসো। *Come this way!*

সে ওই দিকে গিয়েছে। *He went that way.*

সেই দিকে নজর রেখো। *Pay attention to that.*

চারদিকে তাকিয়ে লক্ষ্য করে *Looking all around he notices...* (Bandyopadhyay)

সে সবদিকে বিবেচনা করে। *He considers everything.* (Probhas Das)

In all these cases *দিকে*, together with the preceding pronoun, forms an adverb. It is interesting to note that though the demonstrative pronouns can precede *দিকে* without a genitive ending, the neuter pronoun *তী*, just as with *জন্মে*, retains the genitive ending, eg

তার দিকে লক্ষ্য রাখবো। *I will keep an eye on him.*

Even though *দিক* is also used as a noun, eg

আত্মীয়তা তার স্বামীর দিক থেকে নয়।

The relationship is not through her husband's side. (Bandyopadhyay)

its use as a postposition is very common and semantically it has expanded its nominal meaning, particularly in contexts like পাঁচটার দিকে *about five o'clock*, where it has a temporal meaning of *approximately*. I therefore think that this is a genuine postposition.

দিয়ে *with* perfective participle of দেওয়া *give*

As a postposition দিয়ে generally follows a nominative, but an animate noun preceding it is put in the accusative case.

দিয়ে can have the following meanings:

with (instrumental)	কলম দিয়ে লেখা	<i>write with a pen</i>
through	জানালা দিয়ে দেখা	<i>look through the window</i>
via	নাটোর দিয়ে যাওয়া	<i>go via Nator</i>
along	এই পথ দিয়ে যাওয়া	<i>go along this road</i>
from (material)	ময়দা দিয়ে বানানো	<i>made from / with flour</i>
from (direction)	সেখান দিয়ে প্রবেশ করা	<i>enter from there</i>

by means of,

with the help of বাবুকে দিয়ে অনুবাদ *translated with the help of Babu*

Semantically, none of these meanings imply an act of giving, so from that fact alone the status of দিয়ে as a postposition is justified.

The use of দিয়ে with a preceding animate noun is not very common. Smith gives:

অবিনাশচন্দ্র ঘোষ বলে এক বাবুকে দিয়ে তিনি মহাভারতের অনুবাদ করান।

He has the Mahabharata translated by a babu named Abinaschandra Ghos.

In this sentence দিয়ে can also be understood as a perfective participle, ie

Having given it to a babu named Abinaschandra Ghos, he had the Mahabharata translated.

Another example without this ambiguity is

আমি তাকে দিয়ে ফর্ম আনিয়েছিলাম। *I got the form through him.* (Probhas Das)

The use of নিয়ে in these contexts would be more common, but this use of দিয়ে needs to be noted.

দিয়ে can be used in the sense of থেকে *from*. Examples are:

মানুষটার কপাল দিয়ে ঘাম বরছে। *Sweat is dripping from the man's forehead.* (Smith)

সেখান দিয়ে প্রবেশ করলাম। *I entered from there.* and

সেই পাশ দিয়ে বেশ বড়ো হুঁদুর হঠাৎ ছুটে পালালো।

From that side a fairly big rat suddenly ran out. (Bandyopadhyay)

In all these cases থেকে would be more common.

দ্বারা *through, by means of* postposition

There seems to be some confusion about which case precedes this postposition. Both Chatterji and Smith claim that it is a genitive, but Smith also has

পদগুলি দ্বারা বিশিষ্ট অর্থ প্রকাশ পাওয়া চাই।

A special meaning must be revealed by means of the verses.

Milne also has a nominative example

মুদ্রযন্ত্র দ্বারা পৃথিবীর প্রভূত উপকার হইয়াছে।

Much good to the world has been done by the press.

The genitive ending is certainly required with animate nouns or pronouns, eg

রবির দ্বারা সে কাজ হওয়ার নয়। *That is not to be accomplished by Rabi. (Smith)*

লেখটা আমার দ্বারা ঠিক মত হচ্ছে না। *I can't get the writing right. (Dakshi)*

এর উপর আর আমার দ্বারা হবে না। *Beyond this nothing can be done by me. (Milne)*

With inanimate nouns the genitive ending seems to be optional. Two examples are given above

with a nominative ending. An example with a genitive ending is given by Begum:

তর্কের দ্বারা সব কিছু প্রমাণ করা যায় না। *Not everything can be proved by argument.*

দ্বারা is a fairly formal postposition, used more often in writing than in speaking. Milne's example sentence above would more likely be spoken as

এর উপর আমি আর কিছু করতে পারি না। *Apart from that there is nothing I can do.*

ধরে *during* perfective participle of ধরা *hold, catch*

ধরে follows a nominative noun, eg

তিন সপ্তা ধরে *for three weeks*

সারাদিন ধরে *all day long*

এক বছর ধরে *for a year*

It is most often used in a temporal sense to express a duration of time but can also be used spatially, eg

অন্য পথ ধরে যাই। *Let's go by another path. (Smith)*

বিপরীতের দিকের ফুটপাথ ধরে হাঁটতে শুরু করেছে।

He has begun to walk along the pavement in the opposite direction. (Smith)

Similarly to নিয়ে ধরে remains close to its verbal root, for instance

এই রাস্তা ধরতে হবে। *(We) will have to take this road.*

shows that the sense of ধরা is still tangible even in its postpositional use and syntactically ধরে cannot be distinguished from the perfective participle form. However, particularly in its temporal use it has moved far enough from the verb form to be considered a postposition.

নিচে *under, underneath* locative of নিচ *underside, part underneath*

নিচে is the logical opposite of উপরে, but it is much narrower in its use. Like উপরে it follows a noun or pronoun in the genitive and it can be used adverbially. Examples are

postpositional গাছের নিচে *under the tree*

ঘরের নিচে *under the house*

বালিশের নিচে *under the pillow*

adverbial আমরা নিচে থাকি। *We live downstairs.*

আরও নিচে যেতে হবে। *We have to go further down.*

নিচে can only be used spatially and it does not have the range of idiomatic uses that উপরে has. According to our criteria for including a word into the class of Bengali postpositions নিচে has little to commend itself. There are no semantic or syntactic features which distinguish it from its

nominal root. Logically, however, in order not to disturb the symmetry between opposites like আগে - পরে, বাইরে - ভিতরে, সামনে - পিছনে, নিচে has to be included as the counterpart to উপরে.

নিয়ে *with, about* perfective participle of নেওয়া *take*

Like দিয়ে নিয়ে follows a noun or pronoun in the nominative case except that animate nouns or pronouns are used in the accusative, eg

inanimate একটা গল্প নিয়ে চিন্তা করা *think about a story*

animate বাবাকে নিয়ে সমস্যা *problems with father*

নিয়ে is a very interesting postposition as in a lot of instances it stays very close to its verbal use.

Consider the following example from Bandyopadhyay:

আয়না নিয়ে ভালভাবে আঁচড়াতে পার না?

Can't you comb (your hair) properly with a mirror?

The sentence could equally be interpreted as

Having taken a mirror, can't you comb (your hair) properly?

So, in order to establish নিয়ে as a postposition we have to look for examples without this ambiguity, ie sentences where no act of taking can possibly be involved.

Seely gives this example:

কি জানি কি নিয়ে দুই ভাইয়ের খুব ঝগড়া হয়েছিল।

How do I know what the two brothers had a big fight about?

Smith has the following:

আমার মত তোমাকে নিয়ে কেউ এত ভাবে না। *No one else thinks about you as much as I do.*

তারা নিজেকে নিয়ে ব্যস্ত। *They are self-absorbed. and*

বাবাকে নিয়ে তখন আমি কি করবো? *What will I do about father then?*

Is there an element of taking in these examples? Neither Chatterji nor Milne list নিয়ে as a postposition though they both have দিয়ে. This might suggest that the use of নিয়ে as a postposition is a more recent development. When নিয়ে is used as a perfective participle it has to be followed by a finite verb form and in my research on compound verbs I have found that the only verbs following নিয়ে are verbs of motion, ie যাওয়া, আসা, চলা. Even if there is a trace of *taking* in the above sentences it is appropriate to distinguish the use of নিয়ে in

তোমাকে নিয়ে যাবো। *I will take you with me. and*

তোমাকে নিয়ে ঝগড়া করবো। *I will have a fight about you.*

I would therefore accept নিয়ে as a postposition which is in the process of establishing itself.

পক্ষে *for, on behalf of* locative of পক্ষ *direction, side*

পক্ষে requires a preceding genitive. Smith claims that পক্ষে and জন্যে are used in the same way, but Seely points out the difference between them. Whereas জন্যে implies the concept of other-directedness ie *for the benefit of, for the purpose of*, পক্ষে means *on behalf of, from the perspective of*. In fact, all of Smith's examples use পক্ষে in precisely this sense, eg

সেটা আমার পক্ষে বোঝানো সহজ হত না। *It wouldn't be easy for me to explain.*

মেয়েদের পক্ষে তো আরও খারাপ। *It's even worse for girls.*

তা বলা আমার পক্ষে সম্ভব না।

It is not possible for me to say.

In none of these sentences does পক্ষে imply a benefit for someone else. However, it has to be added that in all these sentences জন্যে could have been used instead of পক্ষে. Though Seely's criticism is justified, it is clear that জন্যে and পক্ষে are not complementary to one another, as Seely would have it, but পক্ষে has a range of meaning which is narrower than that of জন্যে, eg it is not possible to say

*তোমার পক্ষে আমি চা নিয়ে এসেছি।

I have brought tea for you.

Other examples with পক্ষে are:

আমার পক্ষে এক হাজার টাকা কিছু নয়।

A thousand Taka is nothing to me.

তোমার পক্ষে কাজ করা ভালো।

It is good for you to work. (Milne)

আমার পক্ষে ছুটি নেওয়া সম্ভব না।

It is not possible for me to take a holiday.

সে টাকা সংসারের পক্ষে যথেষ্ট।

This money is enough for the family. (Das)

It is only in this last example that an element of benefit can be felt but it is not strong enough to defeat the argument. The reason for including পক্ষে as a postposition is quite simply that the noun পক্ষ is not often used. I have found the following example

কখনও স্বামী এক স্ত্রীর পক্ষ হইয়া অন্য স্ত্রীকে সর্বদা তাড়ন করে।

Sometimes the husband takes the side of one wife and punishes another wife.

Rameshchandra Mojumder, স্ত্রী জাতির অবস্থা

পরে *after* locative of adj পর *another, other*

পর is sometimes used instead of পরে. There is no difference in use or in meaning.

পরে usually requires a preceding genitive but there are some exceptions to this. It is the logical counterpart to আগে *before* and, like আগে, can be used adverbially, eg

as a postposition

দুপুরের পরে

after midday

রবিবারের পরে

after Sunday

তারপরে

after that

with verbal nouns

কাজ করার পরে

after doing the work

তার চলে যাওয়ার পরে

after he left

as an adverb meaning *later* আর একটু পরে যাও। *Go a bit later!*

সে পরে আসবে।

He will come later.

দুই মাস পরে

two months later

তিন ঘন্টা পরে

three hours later

As can be seen from these examples পরে is used temporally. There are a few exceptions to this. I have found a number of examples where পরে is used instead of উপরে. These are:

মেয়েদের পরে অত্যাচার চলছে।

Women are being oppressed.

নিজের পরে বিরক্ত হয় তার।

She was angry with herself.

মুখের পর দু যেকটা মাছি উড়ে বসছে।

One or two flies were on his face.

মানবের পরে অবিচার করেছে।

They have done an injustice to mankind.

(all from Bandyopadhyay)

This may be an idiosyncratic use of পরে as the examples are all from one author but it should be noted.

তারপরে is used as a conjunction and can sometimes have consequential or even causal implications, eg

তারপরে আমি আর কিছু বলি নি। can be translated as *After that I didn't say anything more,*
but it can imply *Because of that, as a consequence, I didn't say anything more.*

Equally, with a concessive ও, it can mean *in spite of*, eg

তারপরে ও সে আমার কথা শোনে নি। *In spite of that, he didn't listen to me.*

পরিবর্তে *instead of* locative of পরিবর্তন *change, alteration*

Morphologically পরিবর্তে is derived from the noun পরিবর্ত, which is also given in the Samsad dictionary, but seems to be narrower in meaning than পরিবর্তন. The conjunct verb *change* is always পরিবর্তন করা.

পরিবর্তে follows a noun or pronoun in the genitive, eg

তোমার পরিবর্তে আমি যাবো। *I will go instead of you.*

দরজাটার পরিবর্তে জানালা খুলে দাও। *Open the window instead of the door.*

পরিবর্তে, as a postposition, differs semantically from the noun পরিবর্তন. Whereas the noun describes change, ie development from one state to another, the postposition expresses substitution, exchanging one thing for another. I consider this semantic shift significant enough to accept পরিবর্তে as a postposition.

পরিবর্তে can be used without a preceding genitive. This has to be interpreted as an elliptic use, eg

আমি [একটার] পরিবর্তে দুইটা শাড়ি কিনেছি। *I bought two sarees instead [of one].*

তুমি কি [আমার] পরিবর্তে যেতে পারো না? *Couldn't you go instead [of me]?*

পর্যন্ত *until* nominative of পর্যন্ত *limit, end*

পর্যন্ত is an unusual postposition insofar as it is not a locative but a nominative form. The preceding noun is in the nominative. Often together with থেকে *from*, it can be used either spatially, eg

মাথা থেকে পা পর্যন্ত *from head to foot* (Samsad)

or temporally

আজ থেকে রবিবার পর্যন্ত *from today until Sunday*

When পর্যন্ত is used with verbal nouns the negative particle না is often, but not always, added either before or after the verbal noun. In these cases পর্যন্ত corresponds to *as long as*, eg

বৃষ্টি না থামা পর্যন্ত *as long as it doesn't stop raining* (Samsad)

শেষ হওয়া না পর্যন্ত *until it is finished* (Samsad)

ট্রেন আসা পর্যন্ত *until the train comes* (Samsad)

পর্যন্ত can be used in contexts other than purely spatial or temporal. In these cases it is best translated as *even*, eg

আমি প্রাণ পর্যন্ত দিতে পারি। *I am ready to even give my life.* (Milne)

নিজের মত প্রকাশের অধিকার পর্যন্ত নেই।

They don't even have the right to express themselves. (Das)

Smith calls this use adverbial. This may be true for the English *even*, but syntactically পর্যন্ত in the following sentences is the same as in the examples above, ie it is still a postposition. Smith has

তিনি তামাক পর্যন্ত স্পর্শ করেন না। *He doesn't even touch tobacco.*
 টি ভি সেট পর্যন্ত রাখছে গ্রামে। *They even have TV sets in villages.*
 কিছু খাইনি -জল পর্যন্ত নয়। *I didn't eat or drink anything - not even water.*

Syntactically the postposition পর্যন্ত differs from its nominal homonym which is not frequently used. If the noun পর্যন্ত followed another noun the preceding noun would have to be in the genitive,

eg

রাস্তার পর্যন্ত *the end of the road*

This alone is reason enough to accept পর্যন্ত as a postposition.

পাশে *at the side of, next to* locative of পাশ *side*

পাশে is a spatial postposition and follows a noun or pronoun in the genitive, eg

রাস্তার পাশে *by the side of the road*

জানালার পাশে *next to the window*

দাদুর পাশে *at grandfather's side*

Like নিচে *under* পাশে retains its nominal character and should be included in the wordclass of postpositions only because of its logical place alongside the other spatial postpositions (listed on p 99). It is frequently used as a noun with or without a preceding genitive, eg

এই পাশে বসতে পারো। *You can sit on this side.*

চার পাশে পানি *water all around*

কেউ নেই তার পাশে। *There is no one at her side. (Das)*

পাশাপাশি is a variation of পাশে, but can also be used adverbially to mean *side by side*. It can be used as a postposition

একেবারে তার পাশাপাশি বেরিয়ে এলো দরজা দিয়ে।

He came right by her and went out the door. (Smith)

as an adverb

দুজনে পাশাপাশি বসে আছে। *The two of them are sitting side by side.*

পিছনে *behind* locative of পিছন *back, behind*

পিছনে (sometimes পেছনে) follows a genitive and is the logical opposite of সামনে *in front of*. It is spatial in meaning, eg

বাসার পিছনে *behind the house*

গাড়ির পিছনে *behind the car*

বাবার পিছনে *behind father*

Occasionally, but not as frequently as সামনে, পিছনে can be used in a temporal sense, eg

আমার পিছনে আরও দুইটা ভাই। *After me there are two brothers. (Milne)*

Like the other spatial postpositions পিছনে can be used adverbially and is then best translated as *at the back*:

আমি পিছনে দাঁড়িয়ে থাকবো। *I will stand at the back.*

বোতলগুলো পিছনে রেখো। *Put the bottles at the back.*

পিছনে retains its nominal character, but has its logical place alongside the other spatial postpositions.

বদলে *instead of* locative of বদল *exchange, substitute*

বদলে is very similar in use and meaning to পরিবর্তে. It follows a noun or pronoun in the genitive. There is a distinct difference in meaning between the two conjunct verbs পরিবর্তন করা *change* and বদল করা *exchange, swap*, but the two postpositions are virtually interchangeable. Examples are

মরিয়মের বদলে খোকা উত্তর দিলো। *The boy answered instead of Mariam.* (Bandyopadhyay)

এর বদলে রাম তাকে কিছু দিল না। *Instead of this Ram gave him nothing.* (Smith)

টাকার বদলে চাল দিব। *I will give rice instead of money.* (Milne)

Milne translates this sentence with *rice in return for money* but I think this is wrong. In the following sentence বদলে follows a nominative, but cannot be considered a postposition because one cannot exchange an unspecified saree for a blue one, just as it would be nonsensical in English to say *'She bought a blue dress instead of a dress.'

মরিয়ম শাড়িটা বদলে একটা নীল শাড়ি পরে এলো।

বদলে here must be understood as a past participle, a shortened বদলিয়ে

Mariam changed her saree and came wearing a blue saree.

There is less reason to accept বদলে as a postposition than there is with পরিবর্তে because the nominal and postpositional meanings are often identical. However, in a sentence like the first example given above there is no element of exchange, which shows that used as a postposition the noun বদল has widened its meaning.

বাইরে *outside of* locative of বাহির *outside, exterior*

When used as a postposition বাইরে follows a genitive noun or pronoun. It is spatial in meaning and, like the other spatial postpositions, can be used adverbially. Examples of বাইরে used as a postposition are:

বাড়ির বাইরে একটা নলকূপ। *Outside the house is a tubewell.* (Smith)

সে গেটের বাইরে এলো। *He came out of the gate.* (Smith)

Adverbial uses are

সে বাইরে ঘুমাতো পারে না। *He can't sleep outdoors.*

উনি সব সময় বাইরে। *He is always out.*

বাইরে can also be used to mean *beyond* in more than just a physical sense

আমার কল্পনার বাইরে *beyond my imagination* (Bandyopadhyay)

নাগালের বাইরে *beyond reach* (Samsad)

বাইরে is the logical counterpart to ভিতরে and should therefore be included in the group of spatial postpositions.

বাদে *except, after* locative of বাদ *exception, omission*

Smith gives the meaning of this postposition as *after*. His examples are

তিন মাস বাদে *after three months*

দু' বছর বাদে *after two years*

Begum also has an example with this meaning

দু' দিন বাদে আমার সঙ্গে দেখা কর। *Meet me in two days' time(after two days).*

বাদে is also used in the sense of *except*, eg

কমলা বাদে যে কোনও ফল খাওয়া যেতে পারে।

Any fruit can be eaten except for oranges.

(Begum) and

সুনয়নী বাদে বাকী মেয়েদের সে চেনে না।

Except for Shunayani he doesn't know the rest of the girls. (Pather Panchali)

বাদে follows a noun or pronoun in the nominative. The semantic shift from *except* to *after* justifies its inclusion in the category of postpositions.

বিনা *except, without* preposition

Milne has three examples with বিনা used as a postposition. Two of them have a preceding nominative, one has an accusative pronoun.

তুমি বিনানাই আর বন্ধু মম কেহ। *I have no other friend but you.*

ধর্ম বিনা জীবন কিছু নয়। *Without religion life is naught.* and

তাহাকে বিনা আমার যাওয়া দরকার নাই। *Without him there is no need for me to go.*

According to Seely this use of বিনা is outdated. In contemporary Bengali বিনা is used as a preposition followed by the locative form of the noun, eg

বিনা অর্থে সুখ কে ছাড়তে চায়। *Who wants to give up happiness without a reason?* (Smith)

বিনা স্বার্থেই রীতাদের ভালবাসত। *He loved Rita and her family without selfishness.* (Das)

বিনা বেতনে মেয়েকে পড়ায়। *He teaches the girl without payment.* (Das)

বিনা অনুমতিতে চাকরি ছেড়ে *giving up the job without permission* (Advanced Bengali p 266)

বিনা is used in the same contexts as ছাড়া and, of the two, ছাড়া is by far the more common.

বিরুদ্ধে *against* locative of adj বিরুদ্ধ *adverse, unfavourable*

বিরুদ্ধে follows a noun or pronoun in the genitive. Examples are

তাহার বিরুদ্ধে বিচার হইল। *The decision went against him.* (Milne)

তোমার বিরুদ্ধে আমার অভিযোগ আছে। *I have a complaint against you.*

বোধহয় তার বিরুদ্ধে ষড়যন্ত্র করেছে। *Perhaps (they) have plotted against him.* (Smith)

The adjective বিরুদ্ধ, from which this postposition is derived, is not frequently used and therefore বিরুদ্ধে should be accepted as a postposition.

বিষয়ে *about* locative of বিষয় *subject*

Examples are:

তোমার বিষয়ে সবাই ভাবছে। *Everybody is worried about you.* (Begum)

তাহার বিষয়ে আর কিছু বলিবার নাই। *There is nothing more to be said about him.* (Milne)

আমারা মেয়েটার বিষয় কিছুই জানি না। *We know nothing about the girl.* (Smith)

The only reason for considering বিষয়ে a postposition would be the fact that it can be translated with an English preposition, ie a language-external feature. If বিষয়ে is a postposition then কথা should also be eligible

বাবার কথা চিন্তা করি। *I am worried about father.*

From a language-internal point of view there is no syntactic or semantic reason to consider বিষয়ে and কথা as anything other than nouns.

ভিতরে *in, within* locative of ভিতর *interior, inside*

ভিতরে is the logical opposite of বাইরে *outside of*. It is predominantly spatial in meaning, follows a genitive nominal and can also be used adverbially.

Postpositional uses are

ঘরের ভিতরে খুব শীত। *It is very cold in the house.*

কলসির ভিতরে কি? *What is in the jug?*

Used as an adverb ভিতরে corresponds to *inside*

মা ভিতরে কাজ করে। *Mother is working inside (the house).*

ভিতরে আসুন। *Come inside!*

ভিতরে can be used temporally or figuratively. In both cases it is equivalent to the postposition মধ্যে, which is more common in these contexts.

temporally সে তিন মাসের ভিতরে ফিরে আসবে। *He will come back within three months.*

figuratively আপনা আপনি ভিতর বলছি *speaking among ourselves (Milne)*

There is no semantic or syntactic reason to consider ভিতরে anything other than a locative noun form. Purely nominal uses are

ঘরের ভিতরটা খুব সুন্দর। *The inside of the house is very beautiful.*

বুকের ভিতরটা মাঝে মাঝে মুচড়ে উঠে।

He sometimes had a heartwrenching feeling. (Bandyopadhyay)

It is included among postpositions based on reasons of symmetry only.

মত *like* postposition

মত, sometimes মতন, generally follows a preceding genitive, but there are exceptions to this. মত is one of the most versatile postpositions in Bengali with a variety of meanings, eg

like, similar to সে দিনের মত *like on that day*

আপনার মত লোক *a person like you*

চাঁদের মত ছেলে *a moon-like boy (Seely)*

befitting, becoming রাজার মত আচরণ *behaviour befitting a king (Samsad)*

suiting, satisfying আমার মনের মত লোক *a man after my own heart (Milne)*

as, for আগের মত *as before*

as if বক্ষটার ভিতর সময়ের ঘড়ির কল চিরকালের মত বন্ধ হইয়া গেল।

Within her breast the clock of time had stopped as if forever. (Milne)

even প্রভুর ঘুম ভাঙবার মত সাহসও নেই।

He didn't even have the courage to wake the master. (Smith)

approximately, about তিন মাইলের মত *approximately three miles*

১৫০ কিলোগ্রামের মত মোম *about 150 kilos of wax (Seely)*

মত can follow the nominative of certain abstract nouns and is then best translated as *according to*:

তোমার কথা মত *according to your instructions*

তার উপদেশ মত মাসে একবার যায়।

According to his advice she goes once a month. (Das)

মল্লিকা শাড়ি কিনেছে নিজের পছন্দ মত।

Malika bought a saree of her own choice. (Begom)

সে বাড়ির উঠানে ডুকিয়ে অভ্যাসমত ডাকিল --

He entered the courtyard and, according to habit, called,--- (Pather Panchali)

আপনার সুবিধামত *according to your convenience* (Advanced Bengali, p 270)

Very common is সময়মত *on time*. Seely points out that মত can also be used with adjectives to make them into adverbs, eg খুশিমত *happily*, ভালোমত *well*, ঠিকমত *properly*. These are, of course, not postpositional uses.

মধ্যে *between, among, in* locative of মধ্য *middle, centre*

মধ্যে follows a noun or pronoun in the genitive, can be used spatially, temporally or figuratively and is sometimes used as an adverb. Examples are:

temporally নয়ট্টা ও দশট্টার মধ্যে *between nine and ten o'clock*

এক ঘণ্টার মধ্যে *within an hour*

সন্ধ্যার মধ্যে *before evening* (all Milne)

spatially দশ মাইলের মধ্যে *within ten miles*

ঘরের মধ্যে *in the room* (Milne)

সে মাঠের মধ্যে *in that field* (Smith)

figuratively তোমার আমার মধ্যে *between you and me*

তার মনের মধ্যে *in his mind*

ভদ্রসমাজের লোকদের মধ্যে ব্যবহৃত ভাষা

the language used among people of polite society (Advanced Bengali p 230)

পূর্ব ও পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের নেতাদের মধ্যে বৈষম্য

inequality between the leaders of East and West Pakistan

(Advanced Bengali p 272)

Because of these figurative uses, which are semantically removed from the noun, মধ্যে has to be considered a postposition. Milne gives the following examples for an adverbial use of মধ্যে:

মধ্যে মধ্যে জল আছে। *There is water here and there.*

মধ্যে মধ্যে জ্বর হয়। *He gets fever occasionally.*

Milne has the sentence এর মধ্যে এসেছ। translated as *You have come very early.*

I understand এর মধ্যে in this context to mean *by now, in the meantime.*

মাঝে *between, in the middle* locative of মাঝ *middle, centre*

Variations of মাঝে are মাঝখানে and মাঝামাঝি. মাঝে means the same as মধ্যে and is also used in the same way, ie it follows a genitive and can be used adverbially. Of the two, মধ্যে is the more common postposition. All of Smith's examples are spatial, but মাঝে or মাঝখানে can also be used temporally. Examples are

spatial ধুলার সমুদ্রের মাঝে *in an ocean of dust*

নদীর মাঝে	<i>in the river</i>
ঘরের মাঝখানে	<i>in the middle of the room</i>
গাঙের মাঝখানে	<i>in the Ganges</i> (all Smith)

temporal ফাল্গুনের মাঝামাঝি আমাদের কৃষ্ণচূড়া গাছে ফুল ধরল।

In the middle of Phalgun our Krishnashrub started blossoming. (Begum)

এই মাসের মাঝামাঝি *about the middle of this month*

মাঝে মাঝে is used as an adverb meaning *sometimes*, eg

সে মাঝে মাঝে এখানে আসে। *He comes here sometimes.*

This use of মাঝে constitutes a shift from spatial to temporal meaning and justifies its place among postpositions.

মাধ্যমে *through, by means of* locative of মাধ্যম *medium*

মাধ্যমে follows a genitive noun or pronoun, but it differs neither syntactically nor semantically from its root noun. In all cases it can be translated as *through the medium of*. Examples are

শ্রমের মাধ্যমে মেরুদণ্ড সোজা রাখে। *People keep their spines straight through hard work.* (Begum)

বইয়ের মাধ্যমে নামটা খুব পরিচিত। *The name was well known through books* (Smith)

শাস্ত্রীর মাধ্যমে খবর পেয়ে *Having received the news through Saswati* (Bandyopadhyay)

As with বিষয়ে I see no reason to consider মাধ্যমে a postposition.

সঙ্গে/সাথে *with* locative of সঙ্গ *company*

সঙ্গে and সাথে are used in exactly the same way. Chatterji says that সাথে is the East Bengal version of সঙ্গে, so I am treating them together here. সঙ্গে follows nouns and pronouns in the genitive and is one of the most common postpositions in Bengali. The noun it is derived from means *company* and *in company with* is one of its regular uses, eg

আমি তোমার সঙ্গে যাবো। *I will go with you.*

সমাজের সঙ্গে ভাষার একটি সম্পর্ক রহিয়াছে।

There is a relationship between society and language. (Advanced Bengali, p 235)

However, used as a postposition, সঙ্গে has widened its meaning. Smith has

কলকাতার দিল্লীর সমাজের সঙ্গে পার্থক্য আছে কি?

Is there a difference between society in Calcutta and Delhi?

I suggest that in this sentence it would be more common to use মধ্যে instead of সঙ্গে, but this use of

সঙ্গে needs to be noted. A similar example is

কলাপাতার কোমল বর্ণের সঙ্গে তুলনা *compared to the soft colour of banana leaves*

(Bandyopadhyay)

Another use of সঙ্গে is in an attributive sense:

আমরা জোরের সঙ্গে বলতে চাই ... *We want to say emphatically (with force)*

(Advanced Bengali, p 272)

আমরা গর্বের সঙ্গে বলতে পারি ... *We can say proudly (with pride)*

(Advanced Bengali, p 273)

There is no trace of *company* left in these sentences
There is no trace of *company* left in these sentences

সঙ্গে can refer to manner, eg

সবাই আপনাকে আদরের সঙ্গে গ্রহণ করবে। *Everyone will receive you with love.* (Das)

সঙ্গে can be used in the sense of *in addition to*, eg

দুধের সঙ্গে দুখানা রুটি *two pieces of bread with the milk* (Bandyopadhyay)

মেয়েটি একটা প্রাইমারী স্কুলে চাকরি করত। সেই সঙ্গে প্রগতিশীল নাড়ী আন্দোলনে কাজ করত।

The girl had a job in a primary school. Apart from that she worked in the progressive women's movement. (Das)

The pronoun *সে* drops its genitive ending. Other pronouns, eg *এ*, *ও*, *ত* retain the genitive ending in connection with *সঙ্গে*. Similarly to *পরিবর্তে*, *সঙ্গে* can be used elliptically without a preceding genitive and can then be translated as *also, as well*, eg

আমি ও সঙ্গে যাবো। *I will go as well.*

তুমি ও সঙ্গে সহায় করতে পারো। *You can also help.*

ও সঙ্গে থাকলে কোনও চিন্তা নেই। *If she is there (with us) there are no problems.* (Das)

The doubled *সঙ্গে সঙ্গে* is commonly used as an adverb meaning *immediately*, eg

তোমাকে সঙ্গে সঙ্গে আসতে হবে। *You will have to come immediately.*

But *সঙ্গে সঙ্গে* can also be used as a postposition meaning *as soon as*:

দীপাকের কথা শেষ হওয়ার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে দ্বারপ্রান্তে সীতা এসে দাঁড়ায়।

As soon as Dipak finishes speaking, Sita comes and stands at the door. (Smith)

বাঁশি বাজাবার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে ট্রেন ছাড়ল। *As soon as the whistle sounded the train set off.* (Begum)

আপনি চলে যাওয়ার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে — *As soon as you had left* — (Bandyopadhyay)

সত্ত্বেও *in spite of* locative of *সত্ত্ব* *presence, existence* with concessive *ও*

সত্ত্বেও follows a nominative noun or pronoun. It has concessive meaning, equivalent to the conjunction *তবুও*, eg

with *সত্ত্বেও* (postposition) বৃষ্টি হওয়া সত্ত্বেও আমি নদীর কাছে যাবো।

In spite of the rain I will go to the river.

with *তবুও* (conjunction) বৃষ্টি হচ্ছে তবুও নদীর কাছে যাবো।

It is raining but I will still go to the river.

Examples with *সত্ত্বেও* are:

অনেক টাকা বেতন পাওয়া সত্ত্বেও তার খরচ কুলায় না।

In spite of his large salary he cannot make both ends meet. (Milne)

তুমি যাওয়া সত্ত্বেও তার সঙ্গে দেখা হয় নাই। *In spite of your going you did not meet him.* (Milne)

এসত্ত্বেও মাঝে মাঝে রীতার মন কাঙাল হয়ে উঠে।

In spite of this Rita sometimes becomes miserable. (Das)

শাসনের ভয় সত্ত্বেও সে বাবার বই চুরি করে পড়ে।

Although he is afraid of punishment he steals father's book and reads it. (Begum)

Because of its syntactical feature of following a nominative noun or pronoun, *সত্ত্বেও* has to be considered a postposition. With verb forms the conditional participle with concessive *ও* would be more common than the structure with *সত্ত্বেও*, eg the first example sentence above would be

অনেক টাকা বেতন পেলেও তার খরচ কুলায় না।

সম্পর্কে *about, concerning* locative of সম্পর্ক *relationship, connection, concern*

সম্বন্ধে *about, concerning* locative of সম্বন্ধ *relation, connection*

These two postpositions are virtually interchangeable, so I am treating them together here. Smith claims that সম্পর্কে governs a preceding nominative or genitive, সম্বন্ধে a preceding nominative. Clinton Seely says about সম্বন্ধে "With this postposition, the genitive case is optional on preceding nouns and required on preceding personal pronouns" (line 156). The same is true for সম্পর্কে, but I would amend Seely's statement slightly to say that with inanimate nouns the nominative is required, with animate nouns either nominative or genitive can be used, and with personal pronouns the case ending is genitive. Examples are:

inanimate nouns with nominative

সরকার জাতিতত্ত্ব সম্পর্কে এক নতুন নীতি খাড়া করলেন।

The government established a new policy regarding ethnicity. (Smith)

দেশের অবস্থা সম্বন্ধে আপনি সবচেয়ে ভাল জানেন।

You know best about the country's situation.. (Advanced Bengali, p 266)

অন্যান্য অনেকেও স্ত্রী-জাতির দুরবস্থা সম্বন্ধে সচেতন হন।

Many others are becoming aware of the plight of women. (Advanced Bengali, p 255)

এ কথা সম্বন্ধে কোন তর্কবিতর্ক দরকার নাই।

There is no need of argument about this matter. (Milne)

animate nouns with either nominative or genitive

আমার মাঝবার সম্পর্কে কথা বলার কোনো রাইট নেই আপনার।

You have no right to speak about my parents. (Smith)

তাই আমি অন্যদের সম্পর্কে চিন্তা করি না।

That's why I never worry about others. (Smith)

রবীন্দ্রনাথ সম্বন্ধে তার একটি কবিতা আছে।

There is a poem by him about Tagore. (Begum)

personal pronouns with genitive

আমার সম্বন্ধে ওরা কি কথা বলে? *What are they saying about me? (Das)*

তাদের সম্পর্কে আমি কিছু জানি না। *I don't know anything about them.*

সম্পর্ক is frequently used as an ordinary noun in contexts other than following a preceding genitive,

eg

তার সঙ্গে আমার কোনো সম্পর্ক নেই। *I have nothing to do with him.*

তাদের সম্পর্ক সম্বন্ধে আমি কিছু জানি না। *I don't know anything about their relationship.*

সম্বন্ধ, as a noun, is not very often used, except in its meaning *genitive*, whereas as a postposition it is quite common. Syntactically, the fact that both these words are preceded by nominative forms make them different from their nominal uses, which would have to be preceded by a genitive. This justifies their inclusion among genuine postpositions.

সামনে *in front of* locative of সামনা *front, forepart*

সামনে is the logical opposite of পিছনে. It follows a noun or pronoun in the genitive, can be used adverbially and has predominantly spatial meaning. Examples are

গাড়ির সামনে *in front of the car*

তাদের বাড়ির সামনে *in front of their house*

রাজার সামনে *in front of the king*

সামনে as an adverb can be used either spatially or temporally, eg

spatially আর একটু সামনে নামবো। *I will get off a bit further on.*

সামনে আর একটা দোকান আছে। *There is another shop further on.*

temporally এই সামনের মাসে অনেক কাজ। *There is a lot of work this next month.*

সে সামনে বছর তার চাকরি ছেড়ে দেবে। *He will give up his job next year.*

It is interesting to note in this context that there is an overlap in Bengali between adverbs and nouns, ie in the above sentences সামনে can be seen as either. This is true in varying degrees for all the spatial and temporal postpositions which can be used as adverbs. I will come back to this point later (see Conclusions).

সামনে has its logical place among the other spatial postpositions and so, in spite of nominal uses, has to be considered a postposition. সামনাসামনি is used adverbially to express *face to face*, but can also be a postposition, eg

আমাদের সামনাসামনি তিনি দাঁড়িয়ে আছেন। *He is standing in front of us.* (Begum)

হতে, হইতে *from* infinitive of হওয়া *be, become*

হইতে is the old sadhu bhasha equivalent of থেকে and like থেকে it follows a nominative. The modern calit bhasha form হতে is rarely used as a postposition, but Smith has the following examples

ভয় হতে মুক্তি পাবার *in order to be freed from fear*

অনাদিকাল হতে *since time immemorial*

কোথা হতে *from where*

In all these cases থেকে would be more common, but since the form exists it has to be seen as a postposition. It is both syntactically and semantically quite different from the verb form. Examples with হইতে are:

সে বাড়ি হইতে বাহির হইয়াছে। *He came outside from the house.* (Pather Panchali)

কাল হইতে আমার অসুখ হইয়াছে। *I have been unwell since yesterday.* (Milne)

তাহার নিকট হইতে আমি অনেক উপকার পাইয়াছি।

I have received great assistance at his hands. (Milne)

In modern Bengali নিকট হইতে would be replaced by কাছ থেকে.

গত দুই বৎসর হইতে সুদ চলিতেছে। *Interest has been running for the last two years.* (Milne)

The following is an example of হতে used as a conjunction instead of চেয়ে :

রাধা হতে ললিতা অনেক বড়। *Lolita is much bigger than Radha.* (Begum)

হয়ে *as, for, via, through* perfective participle of হওয়া *be, become*

Like হতে হয়ে used as a postposition is quite distinct from the verb form. It usually follows a nominative but personal pronouns take the genitive. It has two different meanings. The first is purely spatial *via through*, eg

ঢাকা হয়ে কলকাতা যাচ্ছি। *I am going to Calcutta via Dhaka.* (Begum)

সেখান থেকে বসরা হয়ে বোম্বাই এসে *having come from there to Bombay via Basra* (Smith)

The second one is *on behalf of, in the capacity of, for*

তিনি আমার হয়ে বললেন। *He spoke for me.* (Begum)

আমি তোমাদের বন্ধু হয়ে এসেছি। *I have come as your friend* (Smith)

This sentence could be understood as *Having become your friend, I have come*. In surface structure this could also be translated as *I have come as your friend*, but with হয়ে a perfective participle. In comparison with the following sentence it seems odd that হয়ে is preceded by a nominative in one case and a genitive in the other.

আপনি আপনার কোম্পানির হয়ে বাগান চালান।

You run the plantation for your company. (Smith)

This makes it more likely that হয়ে in তোমাদের বন্ধু হয়ে is a verb form, not a postposition.

হিসাবে as locative of হিসাব *account, reckoning*

হিসাবে, sometimes হিসেবে, follows a preceding nominative. Smith has

আলাদা একটি ঘর খাবার ঘর হিসাবে ব্যবহৃত হয়। *A separate room is used as a dining room.*

Other examples are

সরকারের সমস্ত শাখা আমাদের আইনসঙ্গত পরিচালক হিসেবে গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে।

All government divisions have been accepted as our legitimate leaders.

(Advanced Bengali, p 272)

স্বামীর সংসারকে নিজের সংসার হিসেবে গ্রহণ করে।

They accept their husbands' families as their own. (Das)

মানব ও স্বামী হিসাবে খারাপ ছিল না। *Manob, too, hadn't been bad as a husband.* (Das)

বিদ্রোহী কবি হিসেবে নজরুল ইসলামের কাছাকাছি কেউ কি যেতে পেরেছে?

Has anybody been able to come close to Nazrul Islam as a rebel poet? (Begum)

Though হিসাবে, as a postposition, stays very close to its nominal root, there is a semantic shift. In the Bangla Academy dictionary এই হিসাবে and কোন হিসাবে (both nominal uses) are given, respectively as *on this account, in this sense* and *on which account, at what rate, by what logic*. The postpositional meaning is closer to *in the role of*, or simply, *as*. Syntactically, also, there is a change from a preceding genitive, when used as a noun, to a preceding nominative as a postposition. হিসাবে should therefore be accepted as a postposition.

SUMMARY

In this chapter I have tried to define the word class of postpositions according to semantic and syntactic features. However, in the course of this research, the difference between word class and sentence function has become steadily more apparent. Since most words which function as postpositions in Bengali are nouns, verbs or adjectives and are also used, in other contexts, as nouns, verbs and adjectives, the category postposition in Bengali should be seen as a sentence function rather than as a word class.

I have rejected উদ্দেশে, বিসয়ে, মাধ্যমে as postpositions because they do not show any features which are anything other than nominal. They could be called nominal pseudo-postpositions. Other such pseudo-postpositions are:

অজুহাতে	because of	কারণে	because of	কালে	at the time of
গায়ে	on	জায়গায়	instead of	তলায়	underneath
তুলনায়	comparative to	দখলে	in the grip of	পথে	towards
ফলে	as a result	ফাঁকে	in between	বিপরীতে	against
বুকে	in the middle of	ব্যাপারে	about	মাথায়	on
মূলে	at the root of	সাহায্যে	with the help of	হাতে	by

Spatial postpositions like ভিতরে, বাইরে, উপরে, নিচে, সামনে, পিছনে are given a special status because they form a logical system., ie they should all either be accepted or rejected as postpositions. Some of these spatial postpositions have developed a number of idiomatic uses like উপরে as in তিন মাসের উপরে *more than three months*, others, like নিচে, remain strictly spatial in meaning. However, because of their logical relationship to one another, all spatial postpositions have to be given the same status, ie they should all be accepted.

The work done in this chapter shows that Bengali word classes are organised in a different way from word classes in English. We say that আমি ভিতরে যাবো। *I will go inside* is an adverbial use of ভিতরে but it could just as accurately be described as a nominal use. We finish up with an overlap of word classes, a blur between their boundaries. In the sentence আমি শুয়ে থাকবো কারণ আমার মাথা ধরেছে। *I will lie down because I have a headache*, কারণ is seen as a conjunction. কারণ is, of course, a noun and there is nothing wrong in acknowledging that Bengali word classes work differently, ie in Bengali fewer word classes fulfil more sentence functions. This is true not only for the function of postposition through nouns and verbs, but also for conjunctions, eg the sentence হয় তুমি যাবে না হয় আমি যাবো। *Either you go or I will go*, uses verb forms in a conjunctive role.

At the beginning of this chapter there was some ambiguity as to which case precedes which postposition. This can now be cleared up. The majority of postpositions combine with only one case.

Consistently used with the nominative are:

থেকে *from*, ধরে *during*, পর্যন্ত *until*, বাদে *after, except*, সত্ত্বেও *in spite of*, সম্বন্ধে *about*, হতে *from*, হিসাবে *as*.

Consistently used with the genitive are (this does not include adverbial uses):

আগে *before*, উপরে *above*, কাছে *near*, জন্যে *for*, দিকে *towards*, নিচে *underneath*, পক্ষে *for*, পরে *after*, পরিবর্তে *instead*, পাশে *beside*, পিছনে *behind*, বদলে *instead*, বাইরে *outside*, বিরুদ্ধে *against*, ভিতরে *inside*, মত *like, as*, মধ্যে *within*, মাঝে *within* সঙ্গে *with*, সামনে *in front of*.

Some abstract nouns preceding মত *like* remain in the nominative case, eg কথামত, সময়মত and are usually written in connection with মত as one word.

Used with a nominative (inanimates) or genitive (animates):

দ্বারা *through*, সম্পর্কে *about*, হয়ে *through, on behalf of*.

Used with a nominative (inanimates) or accusative (animates):

দিয়ে *with, through*, নিয়ে *with, about*.

বিনা *without* is used as a preposition followed by a locative case.

ছাড়া *without* can be combined with any case, depending on its position in the sentence.

This is a rough overview. It does not take into account adverbial uses or special structures like চারদিকে *all around*, সেজন্যে *therefore*. These uses are listed under the individual postpositions.

Attachments to this chapter:

Appendix 1 Rashida Begum: List of Postpositions

Appendix 2 Smith, Milne, Chatterji: List of Postpositions

Appendix 3 Postposition Chart

CHAPTER 4

TENSE IN BENGALI AND SOME ASPECTS OF TIME ADVERBIALS

The use of Bengali tenses is a topic which is primarily dealt with in course books, grammars and introductions intended for learners of Bengali. In teaching a language we try to keep things clear and comprehensible, so as not to discourage the students; and there is sufficient overlap in tense use between English and Bengali to make it tempting to say 'This tense is used as in English' (Milne and Wenger about future tense, Milne about past continuous). This may be good enough for new learners of Bengali, but a closer look reveals that the future tense in Bengali, for instance, has a lot more modal uses than in English. In any case, the purpose of this study is not to relate Bengali to English tenses, though some comparisons will be made, but to look at the Bengali tense system as a whole, at the way Bengali tenses divide time between themselves and how they relate to one another.

Some research has been done on aspect in Bengali (Alibha Dakshi, *Bengali Verb - an Aspectual Approach* and R. Chatterji, *Aspect and Aktionsart in Czech and Bengali*), but very little non-teaching-related work has been done on Bengali tenses.

This chapter is not on verb morphology. Morphologically speaking, English has only two indicative tenses, the present and the past tense (Longman, p 159). All other tenses are periphrastic, ie they are formed with the help of modal and auxiliary verbs (*I will go, he has been saying* etc). Similarly, in Bengali it may be said that the past continuous and the past perfect tense are formed with the past tense forms of the incomplete verb আছ-, eg আমি বসে - ছিলাম. Quazi Din Muhammad points out that 'these independent finite verbal forms of the stem আছ / ছি should not be confused with the endings formed from this stem' (Muhammad, p 28). The stress pattern in spoken language makes the difference between the two forms perfectly clear.

past perfect: আমি বসেছিলাম। ami bo'sechilam *I sat down.* and

perfective participle + ছিলাম আমি বসে ছিলাম। ami 'bose 'chilam *I was sitting down.*

Another morphological issue are the forms for present continuous and present perfect. The modern calit bhasa forms are আমি করছি for present continuous and আমি করেছি for present perfect. However, particularly in Bangladesh, the shortened sadhu bhasa forms are also very commonly used, ie আমি করতেছি for present continuous and আমি করছি for present perfect. Verbs with consonant-vowel stem use the full sadhu bhasa forms, eg হইতেছে, যাইতেছে instead of হচ্ছে and যাচ্ছে. Some examples in this chapter, specifically those by older authors, are given in these forms.

In this chapter I propose to take a closer look at the following features of the Bengali tense system:

1. time in language - tense in time
2. Bengali tenses in use - authors and examples

3. relationship between the tenses - cooccurrence of tenses in same or adjacent sentences
4. Bengali time adverbials - classification
5. time adverbials and the tenses they are used with

1. TIME IN LANGUAGE - TENSE IN TIME

Time can be seen as a linear entity, which stretches from the distant past to the distant future, passing the present moment somewhere in the middle. Any utterance in any language is made at a particular time, the time of speech (S). We can choose to talk about the future or the past but human languages are structured in such a way that we are bound to refer to time with almost every statement we make. Most languages have verbs - and every finite verb form is tense-bound. Tense, as a grammatical category of the verb, has the function of linking the verb meaning to a particular time, eg in *I went* the verb content *go* is linked to, say, the present moment and, by using the past tense, defined as preceding it. This is a very crude interpretation of an extremely complex linguistic and philosophical phenomenon, but it gives us a starting point. Linguistically, a very simple deictic relationship can be seen to exist between the time of speech (S) and the time of event (E), ie E can be either before (past), after (future) or simultaneous with (present) S. One look at, for instance, the English tense system immediately reveals that this binary system is insufficient and that a third 'time parameter' (Reichenbach, 1966) is needed to account for tenses like the past perfect. In the sentence *I had just finished my breakfast when my mother walked in*, the event (E) *I had just finished my breakfast*, is linked, not to S, but to a point of reference (R) in the past tense. This third time parameter is needed not only for past perfect, past continuous or future perfect (*By tomorrow I will have finished this*) but also for past and present participles, very commonly used in, for instance, Bengali, eg ভাত খেয়ে সে শুষে পড়ল। *Having eaten he lay down*, with R in the past tense or বাজারে গিয়ে আম কিনবো। *When I go to the market, I will buy mangoes*, with R in the future tense.

Comrie (1985, p 35ff) makes a distinction between absolute and relative tenses which is roughly along the same lines, ie a relative tense "is quite strictly one which is interpreted relative to a reference point provided by the context", whereas an absolute tense "specifies the present moment as reference point." (p 58) Comrie's terminology has been questioned by more recent studies, eg by D.N.S.Bhat (1999) who says "We may use the terms 'deictic' and 'non-deictic' in order to differentiate between (i) tenses which have the utterance time as the reference point and (ii) the ones which have some other event as the reference point, respectively. Traditionally these are called 'absolute' and 'relative tenses' [cf Comrie 1985, p 36] but the difference between the two does not depend upon one of them being relative and the other one non-relative (absolute); both are relative to a reference point; the difference between the two is only that the former uses a deictic event (connected with the speech act) as the reference point whereas the latter uses some other event for that purpose." (Bhat, p 14) He goes on to show that in deictic use no overt reference needs to be made to TU, whereas in non-deictic (Klein: anaphoric) use a reference point has to be given in the text. An English example for this is

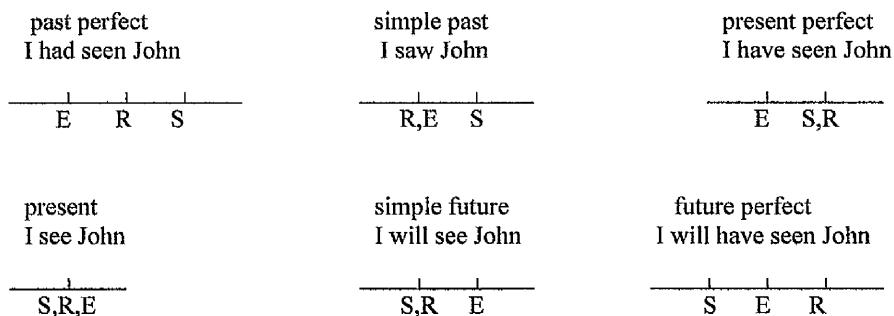
He had breakfast two hours ago. (deictic)

He had breakfast two hours before anyone else. (non-deictic)

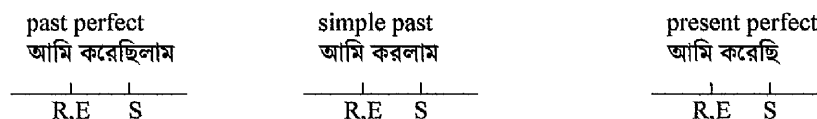
The time of everyone else having breakfast is the reference point TT= topic time (Klein).

In English, the past perfect, by definition, precedes the past tense. 'The main use of the past perfect is to show which of two events happened first.' (Longman English Grammar) This means that the past perfect is a non-deictic tense with a reference point in the past tense. The following diagram is taken from Hans Kamp and Christian Rohrer, *Tense in Texts* (1983), showing the distribution of time parameters in English tenses.

E = point of event, R = point of reference, S = point of speech



English has a very logical and strict tense system, ie time is sliced up very tidily and relationships between the tenses are clearly defined. Because of the neatness of this system, it is all too easy to assume that other languages are the same. However, in Bengali we could very easily have:



This is not to imply that all three phrases have the same meaning or can be exchanged for one another, but the differences between them do not relate to points of reference. The past perfect and the present perfect in Bengali, as well as the simple past, can be used in the English past tense meaning, and in this sense the terms **past perfect** and **present perfect** are not really appropriate for these Bengali tenses. In Bhat's terminology, the Bengali present and past perfect cannot be interpreted as non-deictic tenses. They can be used on their own with direct reference to the utterance time. What the above shows is that the way English tenses are connected to time and to one another is only one possible organizational system and for a language like Bengali other criteria will have to be found. I'm not dealing with non-finite verb forms in this chapter but from a deictic/ non-deictic point of view the Bengali perfective and present participle are by definition always non-deictic.

A word on terminology. The above terms E (point of event), R (point of reference) and S (point of speech) are from Reichenbach (1966) and also used by Comrie (1985) and by Kamp and Rohrer (1983) in their essay *Tense in Texts*. Wolfgang Klein (1994), whose book *Time in Language* has been one of the main influences on this chapter uses the following terms: TU (time of utterance) = S, TT

(topic time) =R and Tsit (time of situation) = E. I will use these terms for the remainder of this chapter.

2. BENGALI TENSES IN USE - AUTHORS AND EXAMPLES

The general consensus seems to be that there are eight tenses in Bengali: simple present আমি খাই, present continuous আমি খাচ্ছি, present perfect আমি খেয়েছি, future আমি খাবো, simple past আমি খেলাম, past continuous আমি খাচ্ছিলাম, past perfect আমি খেয়েছিলাম, past habitual আমি খেতাম. The **simple present** and **simple past** are often referred to as **present** and **past tense**, respectively, but logically it has to be recognized that the **present continuous** is as much a present tense as the **simple present**. The difference between the two tenses is one of aspect, progressive vs non-progressive, which means that the **simple present** should not be seen as less marked than the **present continuous**. I would therefore suggest **simple present** for আমি করি, **simple past** for আমি করলাম and the terms **present tense** and **past tense** to refer to either simple or progressive tense.

Milne uses the terms **imperfect definite** and **indefinite perfect** for the past continuous and the simple past respectively, but both these terms are debateable as to their criteria, and Milne does not explain in what way he sees the past continuous as more definite than the simple past.

In this section I am going to discuss tense uses, as defined by the following authors: W. L. Smith (S), W.S. Milne (M), Wenger (W), A.G. McLeod (McL), Brother James (BJ), W. Radice (WR). TYB (for *Teach Yourself Bengali* by William Radice) is used when sentences are taken out of texts rather than given as examples for tense use. Smith's listings of tense uses are generally the most detailed, so I will give his definitions and then point out where other authors differ or add something more. Unattributed examples are mine.

i) simple present

- habitual action or general 'timeless' truth

আমরা হাতে খাই। *We eat with our hands.*(S)

সৎকর্ম করা চরমে উপকারী হয়। *Honesty is the best policy.*(M)

- historical present, to make a past narrative vivid

রাত্রে ছেলে কোলে করে বউ শুষে ছিল, সকালবেলায় উঠে দেখে ছেলে নেই। *The woman slept that night with her son in her arms, in the morning she wakes up and sees that the boy isn't there.* (S)

Smith has rolled two separate uses of the simple present into one here.

সে বৎসরই তার জন্ম হয়। *He was born in that year,* (BJ) is an example of historic present.

Smith's example shows how the use of a present tense in a past narrative can have a dramatic effect. The term **historic present** is widely, but often not very accurately used when referring to tense changes from past to present tense in a narrative text. I would suggest that the term **historic present** is reserved for cases where past events are reported in the simple present, eg

মুনির গর্ভে চিত্ররথ জন্মগ্রহণ করেন। *Chitrarath was the child of Muni. (M).*

The use of a present tense (either simple or continuous) within a past narrative could be called **scenic present** - this is what the equivalent use in German is called in the Duden Grammar. It seems apposite to make a distinction between these two uses as one of them involves a change in tense with dramatic intent.

- action or state begun in the past and continuing into present

তোমাকে আমি অনেক দিন থেকে চিনি। *I have known you a long time. (S)*

- 'subjunctive' contexts §29.3.8

কখন কি ঘটে তো বলা যায় না। *Why, there's no saying what might happen when. (S)*

Milne adds to this that the simple present can have the force of an aorist. One example he gives is

আমি কি করি? *What am I to do? (M)*

Brother James calls this use 'deliberation or possibility', which I find more appropriate than the term 'aorist' in this context. In fact, the term 'aorist' is burdened with what Trask calls 'great terminological confusion' (p 17) and is probably best avoided.

- quotation, eg যীশু বলেন *Jesus said (BJ)*

Particularly in spoken language, the simple present can also be used to express wish (Smith), intention or imperative, eg

তার নিজের ইচ্ছা হল, সে সবাইকে শান্ত করে। *His own wish was that he calm everyone. (S)*

এখানে একটু বসি। *Let us sit here for a little. (M)*

The following sentence is an example for modal use, where we would more likely expect a future tense form:

আগে বলবার সময় কোথায় পান?

Where would you find the time to tell them beforehand? (Guha)

The simple present in Bengali, unlike in English, can also be used for present action when there is no particular emphasis on progressiveness: কি করো? কাজ করি। *What are you doing? I'm working.*

ii) present continuous tense

- continuous action in present

আপনি কি করছেন? *What are you doing? (S)*

- immediate or planned future actions or events

এখানে দাঁড়িয়ে থাকুন। আমি দরজা বন্ধ করে দিচ্ছি। *Stay here. I'm going to close the door. (S)*

আমি কালকে বিমানে কলকাতা যাচ্ছি। *I am flying to Kolkata tomorrow. (WR)*

- continuous action begun in the past and continuing into the present

আমি কয়েক দিন ধরে একটা কথা ভাবছি। *I have been thinking about a matter for a few days. (S)*

- to lend vividness to a past narrative

আমি একটা বই খুলে বসেছিলাম, কিন্তু মন বসছে না কিছুতেই।

I had opened the book and sat down, but it didn't interest me at all. (S)

Brother James adds to this

- where English uses the the present perfect continuous

সে অনেক দিন থেকে বাংলা পড়তেছে। *He has been studying Bengali for a long time.* (BJ)

As can be seen from these examples, there are a number of uses the simple present and the present continuous share, but there is an aspective difference in these uses.

সে অনেক দিন থেকে বাংলা পড়ে। (simple present) states the fact that *he has been learning Bengali*, whereas the present continuous stresses the continuing effort he is making.

Brother James gives a list of stative verbs *love, hope, like, choose, understand, feel* etc, which are 'not usually used in the present continuous tense' (BJ). However, like in English, *I am hoping that she will come tomorrow, I am feeling tired* etc, Bengali can also bend the rules, eg

ছবিটা আমার খুব ভাল লাগছে। *I am enjoying the film very much.*

খেলনাটা আমি বুঝতেছি না। *I don't understand the game.*

In this last sentence, the continuous tense expresses ongoing puzzlement, ie the process of not being able to follow.

The 3rd person present continuous form of হওয়া *be, become* can be used in copular sentences in a defining sense, eg এই ছেলেটি হচ্ছে আমার নাতি। *This boy is my grandson.* (S) This will be dealt with in greater detail in chapter 5, section 2.5.

iii) present perfect

- an action begun in the past which affects the present

আমি আজই এখানে এসেছি। *I have come here just today.* (S)

- to describe a present condition

এখনও সন্ধ্যা হয়নি। *It isn't evening yet.* (S)

Smith says that the present perfect is used to lend vividness to a past narrative and gives the following example, which contains both past tense and present perfect

কাগজের পাতাগুলো উলটে যাবার সময় একটা সিগারেট ধরলাম। কাল দিন দুপুরে কলকাতায় একটা ব্যাঙ্ক ডাকাতি হয়েছে। *I lit a cigarette as I turned the pages of the newspaper. Yesterday afternoon a bank robbery took place in Calcutta.* (S)

This, surely, has nothing to do with vividness in a past narrative, but is simply the present perfect being used in a past tense sense. Brother James has the following example for the same use

সে সকালে আমার ঘর ঝাড়ু দিয়েছে। *He swept my room this morning.* (BJ)

Other uses of the present perfect

- where English uses *am, is, are* with an adjective or past participle (BJ)

দরজা বন্ধ হয়েছে। *The door is closed.* (BJ)

কাজ শেষ হয়েছে। *The work is done.* (BJ)

This use is also very common with the 3d person form of যাওয়া *go*, which adds a sense of finality, eg

ভাত শেষ হয়ে গেছে। *The rice is finished (used up).*

বাচ্চারা বড় হয়ে গেছে। *The children are grown up.*

- for past actions where the exact time is not significant

আপনি কি আমেরিকা গিয়েছেন? *Have you been to America? (WR)*

iv) future tense

Smith has the following:

- future action or state

না, সে কিনবে না। *No, he won't buy it. (S)*

- propriety or ability

স্যার, একটা কথা বলবো? *Sir, may I say a word? (S)*

কি করে বলবো কোনটা সত্যি কোনটা মিথ্যে? *How can I say which one is true and which false? (S)*

- desire or intention

আমি চা খাব। *I want to drink tea. (S)*

- probability or presumption

তুমি আমাকে চিনবে না। *You wouldn't know me. (S)*

তুমি শুনিয়ে থাকবে। *You may have heard. (M)*

নিশ্চয় তাই হবে। *Of course, this will happen. (Pal, p 24)*

- command or injunction

ওকে ফলো করবে। কোথায় যায়, আমাকে ফোন করে জানাবে।

Follow him. Phone me and let me know where he goes. (S)

- in the honorific form to express a polite request

তার সঙ্গে দেখা হলে তাকে বলবেন। *If you see him, will you (please) tell him? (BJ)*

The Bengali future tense, in fact, fulfils many of the functions that modal verbs have in English, eg

একটু বসবো? *May I sit down*, চা খাবেন? *Would you like some tea*, etc, which gives it a wonderful directness compared to English. Whereas in English we are quite used to exchanges like *Would you like a cup of tea? - Yes, I would love a cup of tea*, in Bengali we have just four words: চা খাবেন? হ্যাঁ, খাবো।

Munshi Azad, in his Japanese Bengali course প্রাথমিক বাংলা সোপান (1990), suggests two additional, periphrastic future tenses, the **future continuous**, formed by the infinitive (more likely present participle) of any verb followed by the future tense of থাকা *stay*, and the **future perfect**, formed by a perfective participle followed by the future tense of থাকা, eg (the examples were given to me by the author)

future continuous আমি যখন কাজ করতে থাকব তখন আমাকে বিরক্ত করবে না।

Don't disturb me when I am (will be) working.

future perfect আমি তাকে কথাটা বলে থাকবো। translated as *I might have said this to him.* or

আমি কাজটা আজকের মধ্যে করে ফেলবো।। [sic] *I will finish the work by today.*

To accept these two forms as Bengali tenses would make for beautiful symmetry in the tense system, but that cannot be a serious consideration. The structure: present participle + থাকা also exists in other tenses, eg

সে কাজ করতে থাকে। *He keeps on working.*
সে সব সময় ঘুমাতে থাকত। *He used to sleep all the time.*

If the future tense version of this structure were to be considered a tense in Bengali, then how would these other structures be interpreted? Azad gives two forms for the future perfect, one with the future of থাকা for probability and one with the future of ফেলা for definiteness. ফেলা *throw*, in compounds with transitive verbs, adds to the meaning of these verbs not so much definiteness, but completion, thoroughness etc. ie it adds an aspectual feature. It does not constitute a tense in Bengali - the structure is not fully productive - there are any number of verbs which cannot compound with ফেলা. The structure with থাকা (both with the present participle and the perfective participle) needs to be given more serious consideration since this does seem to be fully productive in Bengali. থাকা can be used with stative or active, transitive or intransitive verbs, but, again, it adds an aspectual feature in all tenses and there is no reason to single out the future tense use of this structure.

v) simple past

- main narrative tense in storytelling (WR)

This is true particularly for written narrative - in spoken language the past perfect is also used. Smith gives the use of the simple past

- for the immediate future

তোমরা কথা বল, আমি শুতে চললাম। *You people talk, I'm going to lie down.* (S)

Smith says that this use is most common with চল in the first person, but other verbs are just as frequent

আমি গেলাম। *I'm off!*
তোমার ছাতি নিলাম। *I'm taking your umbrella.*
তোমাকে এই বই দিলাম। *I am giving you this book.* (BJ)

Milne has the following sentence with a third person subject

এই ব্যক্তি জলে পড়িল। translated as *The fellow will fall into the water*, presumably by Milne himself. Native Bengali speakers interpret this sentence as meaning that *the fellow* has already fallen. However, I quote 'sometimes we say, especially when a person or a guest tries to leave our house hurriedly despite request of taking a cup of tea or passing some more time with us; then you suppose one person in hall room and other or others are in kitchen or anywhere else in the house then the person in hall room may inform the other by a loud voice that Mum/Dad/Brother - Uncle/Apa/Dulabhai cole gelo.' This sounds wholly convincing to me - thank you, Arif!

Milne adds to this the use for

- actions which have just taken place or took place very recently

সে এইতো গেল।

He has just gone. (M)

আমি এই মাত্র ভাত খাইলাম।

I have just finished my meal. (M)

সকালে তোমার চিঠি পেলাম।

I got your letter this morning. (WR)

Sentences of this kind almost invariably contain time adverbials like মাত্র *just*, একটু আগে *a little while ago*.

Both uses, for immediate future and immediate past, are particularly common in spoken language.

Smith and Milne mention the defining use of the 3rd person past tense form of হওয়া, eg

সাহিত্য হল সাহিত্য।

Literature is Literature. (S)

আজ আমার বয়েস হল ছত্রিশ।

Today I am thirty-six. (S)

I will come back to this in chapter 5.

vi) past continuous

The past continuous is the simplest and also the least used of Bengali tenses. Smith defines it as describing

- a continuous action taking place in the past, sometimes one taking place simultaneously with another

বোমকেশ এতক্ষন চুপ করে দাঁড়িয়ে সব দেখছিলেন, শুনছিলেন।

Standing silently awhile, Byomakes observed and listened to everything. (S)

সে সময়ে আমি এ পথে আসিতেছিলাম সে সময়ে তাহাকে দেখিলাম।

I saw him just as I was coming this way. (M)

সে সময়ে আমি ঘুমাছিলাম।

At that time I was sleeping. (BJ)

Past continuous verb forms are very frequently accompanied by time adverbials like যখন – তখন *when*, সে সময়ে *then* etc.

আমি যখন বাড়ী যাইতেছিলাম তখন তার সঙ্গে দেখা হল।

I met him as I was going home. (BJ)

রাজশাহী টাউন সেদিন শ্মশানের মত দেখাছিল।

Rajshahi town that day looked like a cremation-ground. (TYB p 236)

তিনি আমাকে আঘাত করিতেছিলেন, ইতিমধ্যে তুমি উপস্থিত হইলে।

He was striking me, just then you came up. (W)

vii) past perfect

The general consensus seems to be that the past perfect is used for actions concluded before other actions in the past (S) or for actions in the remote past (M, W, McL)

অপরা ডাকে যত চিঠি ফেলেছিলেন কোনো বাড়িওয়ালাই তার উত্তর দিলেন না।

No landlord answered any of the letters Apra had mailed. (S)

আমি সেখানে গিয়াছিলাম কিন্তু রামকে না পাইলে চলিয়া আসিলাম।

I went there but came away because I did not meet Ram. (M)

Smith, however, also has the following example

তখন ভেবেছিলাম প্লেন আমাকে বাদ দিয়ে উড়ে চলে যাবে।

Then I thought that the plane would fly off without me. (S)

There is no reason to think that this is an event in the distant past - it may have happened on the same day. Brother James has

আমি কাল সেখানে গেছিলাম। *I went there yesterday,*

and it is equally possible to say আমি সকালে গিয়েছিলাম। *I went this morning.* All the sentence implies is *I am now back.* The past perfect in Bengali, just like the present perfect, can be used on its own to express simple past meaning. It does not have to precede another past action and it is not confined to the distant past.

Both Milne and Wenger recognize the possible confusion between simple past, present perfect and past perfect and set out to explain the differences between these tenses. Their explanations are almost verbatim (difficult to believe that Milne hadn't seen Wenger's grammar when he wrote his!), so I will just give Wenger's explanation here:

preterite (simple past), perfect (present perfect), pluperfect (past perfect)

'They may differ as measures of the distance of time; the preterite states what happened just now, or a little while ago; the perfect, that which happened some time ago; the pluperfect, that which happened long ago. They differ as to the objects to which they draw attention. The preterite directs attention not so much to the act or event itself, as to its attendant circumstances, such as time, place, manner, rapidity, recency or to that which followed next. The perfect directs attention to the fact itself, as being either historically true or still important. The pluperfect directs attention to the statement as a mere fact; it is often used in the beginning of a narrative, the subsequent verbs in which are put in the preterite. Or it may imply that the fact is of an old date, or no longer of any great interest or importance.' (p 85) He gives the following demonstration for the sentence *He came by boat.*

তিনি নৌকাতে আসিলেন। (simple past) 'This is either the latest news, or a fragment of a narrative; or else attention is directed to the mode of conveyance, he came by boat, not by land.'

তিনি নৌকাতে আসিয়াছেন। (present perfect) 'Here attention is directed to the fact of his having come by boat, as one that admits of no doubt, or that it is still important to the hearer, or that he is still here.'

তিনি নৌকাতে আসিয়াছিলেন। (past perfect) 'This may be a simple statement of fact standing by itself; or, it may be simply that his having come is an old story, or no longer of any great importance; or else that the fact has been superseded by some other fact.' (Wenger, p 84)

Vague as these definitions sound, it may be difficult to improve on them.

Verbs of physical movement, such as যাওয়া *go* and আসা *come*, are not ideal in trying to demarcate these tenses against one another because of their obvious 'afterstates'. আমি গিয়েছিলাম (past perfect) *has* to imply *I am now back*, উনি এসেছিলেন implies *he has left again*. If we take the present perfect, simple past and past perfect of a verb like দেখা *see* it becomes much harder to define differences in meaning.

আমি প্রদর্শনীটা দেখেছি (present perfect) / দেখলাম (simple past) or দেখেছিলাম (past perfect) can all be translated as *I saw the exhibition*. The exact connotations and aspectual features of these verb forms can only really be established in context.

viii) past habitual

The past habitual is used for

- regular or habitual actions or states in the past (S)
রতনা একসময় সেতার বাজাতো। *Once Ratna used to play the sitar.* (S)
আর্যরা সূর্য পূজা করত। *The Aryans used to worship the sun.* (BJ)
তিনি সেই সময়ে প্রতিদিন আমার নিকটে আসিতেন। *At that time he used to come to me daily.* (W)
- hypothetical situations (S)
কি জবাব দিতাম তাদের? *What answer would I give them?* (S)
আমি যাইতাম কিন্তু অবকাশ পাইলাম না। *I would have gone, but had not time.* (W)
- wishes or suppositions (S)
সেই আলমারিটা যদি এখানে থাকতো। *If only that cupboard were here!* (S)
Longing for a cupboard?! Both these uses can be considered subjunctive.
- where English uses simple past (BJ)
আমি যখন এই কলেজে পড়তাম তখন এই বাসায় থাকতাম।
I stayed in this building when I was studying in this college. (BJ)
জলেবেলায় আমি ইংরেজি কথা বলতে পারতাম না।
I couldn't speak English as a child. (WR).

It is important to note that the Bengali past habitual has a much wider use than the English *used to* structure.

3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TENSES -

COOCCURRENCE OF TENSES IN SAME OR ADJACENT SENTENCES

In English there is a strict dividing line between present and past tenses, the present perfect cannot cooccur with time adverbials of the past (Comrie 1985, p 78), (*yesterday I heard (not have heard)*, there is sequence of tense for indirect speech (*he said he would (not will) come*), adverbial clauses of purpose (*I arrived early so that I would (not will) get a good seat*), after verbs expressing wish (*I wish you would (not will) hurry up.*), in conditional sentences (*What would you do if you lost (not lose) your job?*) - the list goes on.

Bengali has no such restrictions, except in conditional sentences. Smith (p 99) gives the following example sentence which contains verb forms in present perfect, present continuous and past perfect:

পরে শুনছি তার না আসার কারণ হচ্ছে তিনি শুনছিলেন পাত্রী সুন্দরী।

Later I heard the reason for his not coming was that he had heard that the bride was beautiful

Notwithstanding the slightly illogical content of this sentence, as I pointed out earlier the third person form of হওয়া *be*, both in the present continuous and in the past tense has a special defining function.

An isolated sentence like this does not perhaps show very much. The following passage is taken from Shefaly Nandy's *Bengali for Foreigners* (p 74-5) - unfortunately, Mrs Nandy does not say who wrote it. I have left out the sentences which contain no verb forms, which may make the passage seem a bit disjointed. The text is about Rabindranath:

1. তিনি আমাদের এই বাংলা দেশে জন্মিয়াছিলেন। (past perfect)
2. কলিকাতার জোড়াসাঁকো নামক এলাকায় রবীন্দ্রনাথের পিতার বাড়ি ছিল। (simple past)*
3. অল্প বয়সেই রবীন্দ্রনাথ কবিতা লিখিতে আরম্ভ করেন। (simple present)
4. তাঁহার পরিবারের লোকেরা ও তাঁহাকে এ বিষয়ে উৎসাহিত করিতেন। (past habitual)
5. রবীন্দ্রনাথ বাংলা গীতকবিতাকে জগতের নিকট তুলিয়ে ধরিলেন। (simple past)
6. জীবনের তের বৎসর বয়স হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া তিরিশি বৎসর বয়সে মৃত্যুর পূর্বদিন পর্যন্ত তিনি রচনা করিয়া গিয়াছেন। (present perfect) [sic] Tagore actually died aged 80!
7. শেষ জীবনে তিনি যুদ্ধের বিজীষিকা ও তাহা হইতে বাঁচিবার জন্য দেশবাসীকে আহ্বান জানান।
(simple present)
8. তিনি জানিতেন শান্তির পূজারী এই সাধারণ মানুষই মানব-সমাজকে বাঁচাইবে। (past habitual, future)

A rough translation, disregarding the Bengali tenses, is as follows:

1. *He was born in this our Bangladesh.*
2. *His father's home was in an area of Calcutta called Jorasanko.*
3. *Rabindranath started writing poetry at an early age.*
4. *The people in his family encouraged him in this.*
5. *Rabindranath brought Bengali poetry to the world.*
6. *From the age of thirteen until the age of 83, until the day before his death, he kept on writing.*
7. *At the end of his life he called to his countrymen to warn them to prepare for the horrors of war and for the struggle to survive it.*
8. *He knew that this ordinary person devoted to peace would save humankind.*

A sudden change from past tense to present tense in a text is usually attributed to making a past narrative more vivid, eg

নেপালী ছেলেটার পিছু পিছু দ্রুত চলে গেল কল্যাণ। প্রায় একটা মরা মানুষের মত নিস্তেজ হয়ে
বিছানা শূয়ে আছে রীতা।

*Kolan followed the Nepali boy quickly. Rita was lying on the bed, very weak,
almost like a dead person. (Das, p 132)*

The events are dramatic and the change to the present tense emphasizes that. Our passage about Tagore, on the other hand, is a factual, informative piece of writing, hardly the stuff of dramatic happenings. The change from past to present tense in sentence 3 could suggest a change from background information to the beginning of 'the story', but is immediately countered by the use of the past habitual in sentence 4. This makes it difficult to see any particular importance in the present tense

use in sentence 3. *The use of simple past here is lexically determined since *আছে* – only has simple present and simple past.

I suspect that the use of Bengali tenses and the way authors change from one tense to another is, quite simply, more arbitrary than we would like to think.

But let us look at some more examples. The questions that need to be asked at this stage are:

Which tenses can occur together?

Are there any tenses which do not occur together?

Is there any kind of predictability in Bengali tense use?

Can we establish any, if not rules, then regularities in the way tenses are used?

o) Example sentences with more than two tenses in one sentence or adjacent sentences

o-a) simple present, past cont, simple past

বলেই ছোড়া বউদির দিকে আড়চোখে চেয়ে নেন। বউদি এতক্ষণ মন দিয়ে বুনেই যাচ্ছিলেন। এবার বোনা থামিয়ে গলাটি তুললেন...

Having said that Chorada looked at his sister-in-law with a sidelong glance. Up till now she had been concentrating on her knitting. Now she stopped knitting and said... (Debsen, p 139)

This is taken from a story (এলিজাবিথান সিস্টেম *Elizabethan System*) which consists predominantly of dialogue and whose main narrative tense is the simple present with a few simple past forms. There is no apparent reason for the change between the two tenses. The past continuous in this sentence, used with the time adverbial *এতক্ষণ*, describes an action which is parallel to the main action in the sentence, which is in the simple present.

o-b) simple past, present perfect, present cont

যাবার সময় দেখল, বাবু আর টুনি খেতে বসেছে, হাসাহাসি করছে নিজেদের মধ্যে।

As he was leaving Pabitra saw that Babu and Tuni had sat down to eat, joking with one another. (Kar, p 74)

o-c) simple past, past cont, present cont

টুনি কিছু বলল না। তার মুখ দেখে বোঝাও যাচ্ছিল না সে কি ভাবছে।

Tuni didn't say anything and looking at her it was impossible to know what she was thinking. (Kar, p 81)

o-d) past perfect, present cont, future

পবিত্র ভেবেছিল জল কোন দিকে গড়াচ্ছে দেখে – সে পূজোর পর মাসখানেক ডুব দেবে।

Pabitra thought that having seen which way the water flowed he would drown himself about a month after Puja. (Kar, p 76)

The narrative tense in 'Uttorer hawa' is the simple past, but throughout the novel there are sudden changes to simple present or present continuous. Sometimes these represent changes from 'action' to 'thought', sometimes from 'background' to 'foreground', at other times they seem quite arbitrary. What is noticeable, however, - and I suspect that this is true for a lot of modern Bengali fiction - is that it is rare for a whole paragraph to be written in just one tense, ie the almost constant change in tenses is

part of the **style** of Bengali writing and serves to liven up a text. In sentence o-c) the sequence of past and present continuous simply **sounds** better than two past continuous forms so close together would have done. That is to say that in Bengali tense changes occur for 'beauty of language', as one of my first Bengali teachers once put it!

o-e) simple past, present perfect, simple present

শেষ পর্যন্ত পরীক্ষা হল। রীতার পরীক্ষা খুব ভাল হয়েছে। কল্যাণ এখন আর আসে না রীতাদের বাড়ী।

At last, there was the exam. Rita's exam went very well. Kolan didn't go to Rita's house anymore. (Das, p 41)

o-f) present cont, simple present, present cont, simple past

এই ঘরটা হচ্ছে তাঁর study, এখানে তিনি বিরক্ত মুখে পড়েন ও পড়ান। আঁট বুট জুতো পরতে বিলম্ব হচ্ছে, বুট জুতোর উপর মহা চটে উঠলেন।

This room is his study where he reads and teaches with an annoyed expression on his face.

If it takes him a long time to put on tight boots or shoes he gets furious with them. (Tagore, Letters from Europe, TYB p 228)

o-g) past perfect, simple present, present cont, past perfect

একদিন আমি ডিনারে যেতে একটু দেরি করেছিলাম, গিয়ে দেখি Mrs B Mr B কে ধমকাচ্ছেন, অপরাধের মধ্যে Mr B মাংসের সঙ্গে একটু বেশি আলু নিয়েছিলেন।

One day I was a bit late for dinner and saw Mrs B rebuking Mr B because, among his other faults, he had taken too many potatoes with his meat. (Tagore, Letters from Europe, TYB p 229)

Tagore's use of tenses in this paragraph is such that it is impossible to determine an 'underlying' tense. There are constant changes between simple past, simple present, past habitual and the occasional past perfect. In the sentence before o-g) in the text Tagore uses the simple past to describe a similar event:

কথাটা সমস্তটা ভালো করে শোনা গেল না, এইখানেই দুই পক্ষে চুপ করে রইলেন।

মাবের থেকে আমি অত্যন্ত অপ্রস্তুতে পড়ে যেতেম।

I did not hear very well what they said and then they fell silent again.

I felt very uncomfortable between them.

In sentence o-g) he changes to the past perfect as the underlying tense with the two present tenses in the middle of the sentence for a more immediate effect.

I think these examples show fairly conclusively that tense changes in Bengali are used as stylistic tools as much as relating to temporal points of reference. In sentence o-e) Das could just as easily have used the simple past for the second sentence রীতার পরীক্ষা খুব ভাল হল, but, avoiding the repetition of হল, the present perfect is stylistically better. Having established this 'gay abandon' (WR, p 231) of tense use in Bengali, in the next section I will give examples for tense combinations, most of them taken from contemporary Bengali novels or stories, in order to see what patterns emerge.

i) cooccurrence with simple present

i-a) simple past, simple present

পবিত্র খেতে লাগলো। সে তাড়াতাড়ি খায়। *Pabitra started eating. He eats fast. (Kar, p73)*

The simple past refers to a particular incident, the simple present to a general habit.

i-b) simple past (হওয়া), simple present

তার নিজের ইচ্ছা হল, সে সবাইকে শান্ত করে। *His own wish was that he calm everyone.* (S)

This could be considered a modal use of the simple present, following verbs of wishing. The topic time (TT) in this sentence is the simple past.

i-c) simple past, simple present

তোমার চিঠি পেয়ে কতো যে ভাল লাগল তা কি করে বোঝাই।

How can I explain how good it felt to get your letter? (S)

In this sentence TU and TT fall together and form the reference point for the preceding verb form লাগল.

The simple past here can be substituted by verb forms in the present continuous, present perfect, past perfect or past continuous without significantly changing the meaning of the sentence.

Combinations of the simple present and future tense are easily found, eg

সে কালকে কোন সময় যাবে আমি জানি না। *I don't know what time he will be leaving tomorrow.*

ii) cooccurrence with present continuous

ii-a) simple past, pres cont

রীতা মায়ের পাশে বসে বুঝল প্রেসার অত্যন্ত বেশি। মাঝে মাঝে জ্ঞান ফিরে আসছে পরক্ষণেই আবার জ্ঞান হারিয়ে যাচ্ছে।

Sitting next to her mother Rita understood that her(mother's) blood pressure was too high.

Sometimes she would regain consciousness and a moment later lose it again. (Das, p 64)

The change to present continuous, where a past continuous might have been expected, serves to add immediacy, almost anxiety to this sentence.

ii-b) pres cont, simple past

সে বাড়ী যাচ্ছে, এমন সময় আমি গিয়ে পড়লাম। *I arrived just as he was going home.* (M)

ii-c) pres cont, simple past

আমি ভাত খাইতেছি, এমন সময় সে এসে পড়ল। *He arrived as I was eating.* (BJ)

In both these sentences we have two parallel main clauses describing simultaneous actions. An awkward, but more accurate translation of ii-c) would be *I was eating. At that time he arrived.* It is interesting to note the affinity between present continuous and simple past in these sentences, particularly as there is no strong feeling of immediacy here. The second clause in both sentences defines TT (topic time) (past) and, through this, the present continuous loses its own tense properties.

iii) cooccurrence with present perfect

iii-a) present perfect, future

রমেন বলেছে নিয়ে যাবে বউদিকে। *Ramen said that he would take his sister-in-law.*

(Debsen, p 147)

The time of utterance (TU) lies between the two actions, ie it can be inferred that the *taking* hasn't yet taken place.

iii-b) past perf, present perf

বিনুর চিঠি থেকে জানতে পেরেছিলাম সে তপুকে অনেক কিছু বলেছে।

I was able to understand from Binu's letter that he had said a great deal to Tapu. (S)

In this sentence, on a time scale, the present perfect actually precedes the past perfect, which may be an unusual tense sequence but confirms Wenger's interpretation that 'the perfect directs attention to the fact itself' (quoted on p 131) without consideration for the time of the event. We can see here a real difference in meaning between the present perfect and the simple past. If the sentence read

বিনুর চিঠি থেকে জানতে পেরেছিলাম সে তপুকে অনেক কিছু বলল।

the act of speaking would have taken place at a particular time, in a particular place, whereas the present perfect version just refers to the fact that something has been said.

iii-c) simple past (হওয়া), present perf

প্রায় দেড়শত বৎসর অতীত হইল ইংরাজেরা বাঙ্গালা দেশ অধিকার করিয়াছেন।

The English made themselves masters of Bengal about 150 years ago. (M)

iii-d) simple past (হওয়া), present perf

এক সপ্তাহ হইল আমি এখানে এসেছি। *I came here a week ago. (M)*

iii-e) simple past (আছে-হওয়া), present perf

তার আপন বলতে একমাত্র মানুষটি ছিল সেই নীহারিকাই চলে গেছেন দু বছর হল।

The only person he could call his own, Niharika, went away two years ago. (Guha, p 142)

In all these sentences the main tense is the present perfect with all the past tense forms of হওয়া being used in a postpositional sense, equivalent to আগে ago. In iii-e), again, there is the sense of the present perfect directing 'attention to the fact itself'. In this case, of course, a precise time of the event is given in দু বছর হল two years ago but the verb form itself has an effect of finality that a simple past form would not have.

iv) cooccurrence with future tense

iv-a) past cont, future

ভাবছিল, কিভাবে সে পরিচয় করবে তার বাবার সঙ্গে।

She wondered how she should introduce herself to her father. (Das, p113)

He said the day before yesterday that he would set off in the morning. (TYB, p 235)

iv-c) past perfect, future (modal use)

আমি আমার জলের স্বপ্নটার মানে জিগেস করেছিলুম। উনিও খুলে বলবেন না, আমিও না জেনে ছাড়ব না।
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I asked him the meaning of my water dream. He wouldn't explain openly and I wouldn't let go without knowing. (Debsen, p 165)

iv-d) simple past, future

শকুন্তলার কি তখন জ্ঞান ছিল যে দেখবে কে এল, কে গেল।

Had Sakuntala any thought for who was coming or going? (TYB, p 215)

It is clear from these examples that the future tense can function as a direct 'aftertime' for any of the other tenses. For examples with the past habitual, see under viii).

The difference between sentences iv-b) and iv-c) is that in iv-b) TU is situated between the two parts of the sentence, ie the *setting off* is still in the future (the same applies to iv-a)), whereas in iv-c) the whole discourse precedes TU and the function of the future tense here is not to point to a future event but to bring in a modal element.

v) cooccurrence with simple past

v-a) simple past, past cont

বাবা আপত্তি করলেন। ছেলেরা আমার মাকে টাকাপয়সা দিয়ে ফেলল। মা আমাকে সাপোর্ট করলেও বাবার মতের বিরুদ্ধে কিছু করতে পারছিলেন না।

Father objected. The boy had already given Mother the money. And even though Mother supported me, she couldn't do anything against Father's opinion. (Das, p 88)

The past continuous verb form here emphasises an ongoing, if futile, effort on the mother's part, and phonaesthetically, offers a welcome relief after a series of simple past forms.

v-b) past perfect, simple past

ডাক্তার অমলকে দেখেছিলাম, সে কোথায় গেলো?

I had seen Dr Amal, where did he go? (S)

v-c) past cont, simple past

পবিত্র কিছু বলতে যাচ্ছিল তার আগে টুনি কথা বলল।

Tuni spoke just as Pabitra was about to say something. (Kar, p 73)

These two sentences are almost perfect examples for the 'traditional' definitions of the past perfect preceding the simple past (v-b)), and in v-c) for the past continuous describing an action parallel to that of the simple past, though in this case the action described by the simple past just precedes the past continuous, as indicated by the use of তার আগে *before that*.

As noted under ii) there seems to be a special affinity between the simple past and the present continuous.

vi) cooccurrence with past continuous

Example given earlier:

iv-a) with future tense

ভাবছিল, কিভাবে সে পরিচয় করবে তার বাবার সঙ্গে।

She was wondering how she should introduce herself to her father. (Das, p113)

The narrative tense in 'He, nari, akash hou' is the simple past, but with frequent changes to present or past continuous. In this instance, the use of the past continuous indicates an ongoing thought process.

The sentence following iv-a) in the text is entirely in the past continuous:

নানা প্ল্যান মনে আসছিল, কিন্তু কোনটাই পছন্দসই হচ্ছিল না।

She thought of various plans, but didn't like any of them. (Das, p 113)

vi-a) past cont, simple past

আপনার বন্ধু আর তার স্ত্রীর কথা বলছিলেন,ওরা এলো না তো।

You were talking about your friend and her husband, but they haven't come.

(Das, p115)

vi-b) past cont, future tense

চিন্তা হচ্ছিল কল্যাণের, হোটেলের মশলা দিয়ে রিচ খাবার আজ রীতার পক্ষে ঠিক হবে না।

It occurred to Kolan that spicy, rich hotel food would not be right for Rita today.

(Das, p 137)

See also examples v-a) and v-c) above. It is apparent from these examples that the past continuous is not as limited as it may have seemed from section 2) of this chapter. It is not just an accompaniment to the simple past but can stand on its own and can also be combined with other tenses, eg simple present, future tense, past habitual.

vii) cooccurrence with past perfect

vii-a) past perfect, simple past, future tense

গলাটা শুকিয়ে গিয়েছিল, ভাবলাম একটা আইসক্রিম খাব।

My throat had gone dry, I thought I would eat an ice-cream. (S)

vii-b) past perfect, future tense

বুঝতে পেরেছিলাম, উনি চলে যাবেন।

I understood that he was leaving. (Bandyopadhyay)

See also examples iii-b), iv-b), iv-c) above and the two example sentences given earlier (p 9)

অপরা ডাকে যত চিঠি ফেলেছিলেন কোনো বাড়িওয়ালাই তার উত্তর দিলেন না।

No landlord answered any of the letters Apra had mailed. (S)

আমি সেখানে গিয়াছিলাম কিন্তু রামকে না পাইলে চলিয়া আসিলাম।

I went there but came away because I did not meet Ram. (M)

where the past perfect combines with the simple past. In looking at these tense combinations, it always has to be kept in mind that all the example sentences given here are taken from written language and an analysis of spoken language might produce quite different results, ie the simple past in spoken language is used mainly for immediate past or immediate future and the past perfect is the main tense for narrating past events. In combination with the simple past the past continuous and past perfect seem to be alternatives to one another. I did not find any examples of them being used together.

viii) cooccurrence with past habitual

viii-a) present continuous, past habitual

তোমার মেয়ে যা করছে তা ছেলেরা ও পারতো না।

Even boys wouldn't be capable of what your daughter is doing. (S)

This sentence could be used almost as a pattern to show that the past habitual can actually be combined with all other tenses by substituting the present continuous verb form with other tenses, eg future tense, simple present. Possible examples are:

viii-b) simple present, past habitual

তুমি যে মরিচ খেতে পারো তা আমি জানতাম না। *I didn't know that you could eat chilli.* (M)

viii-c) future tense, past habitual

ও যে টাকা দেবে আমি ও দিতে পারতাম। *I could also give the money that he will give.* (M)

viii-d) past perfect, past habitual

আমি এতো রেগে গিয়েছিলাম যে সেই সম্পাদককে বোধহয় খুনই করে ফেলতাম।

I was so angry that I might have killed that editor. (S)

viii-e) past habitual, simple past

ওখানে জমি কিনতে পারত, বাড়ি করাও অসম্ভব ছিল না।

They could have bought land and it wouldn't have been impossible to make a

home there. (Kar, p 77)

viii-f) present perfect, past habitual

অনেক দেরি হয়ে গেছে আরও অনেক আগে তাকে হাসপাতালে আনতে হত।

It was very late - he should have been brought to the hospital much earlier.

(Bangla Journal 3, p 78)

Conclusions

In order to evaluate the findings (or non-findings!) of the previous sections, it has to be remembered that the analysed material is of limited scope, taken only from teaching manuals and contemporary Bengali novels. Spoken language has not been taken into account.

In spite of these shortcomings, there are some results. As I said at the beginning of this chapter English tenses are organized in such a way that some tenses are subordinate to other tenses, eg the English past perfect must always have a past tense reference point, ie it is anaphorically bound to the simple past and cannot deictically relate to TU (time of utterance). Though it is possible in English to say *I don't know what he did*, it is not possible to say **I don't know what he had done*. In Bengali all tenses are equal. This is not to say that the past perfect or the past continuous are not used with reference points in the past tense (their main use in English), but they can also have a direct deictic reference to TU, eg আমি তাকে সকালে দেখেছিলাম। *I saw her this morning*. The difference between this sentence and the same sentence with a simple past or a present perfect verb form is one of emphasis, not one of reference.

The consequence of this 'equality of tenses' is that in a text the author has a choice between two, sometimes even three tenses, and the decision about which tense to use is often made according to phonaesthetic criteria, hence the almost constant tense changes in many texts. A string of simple past tense verb forms হল, ছিল, বলল, করল, গেল soon becomes very monotonous and the liveliness of a text depends on the occasional present continuous, simple present or present perfect form.

Bengali tenses do, of course, have temporal implications. Both the simple present and the present continuous can be used to add immediacy in a past tense discourse. The present perfect tends to state the fact of a past event without referring to the time of the event (eg sentence iii-b), whereas the simple past is much more concerned with accompanying circumstances. This is in line with Wenger's

statement, quoted on p 131, but has been seen to be valid for verbs other than যাওয়া *go* and আসা *come* with their obvious afterstates. In the examples I have studied the great majority of sentences with a present perfect verb form do not have a time adverbial in the sentence, whereas simple past forms are regularly accompanied by time adverbials. This again may be to do with written versus spoken language as the simple past in spoken language is not used very much to refer to past events. In statements about past events where the actual time of the event is not significant the present perfect is used.

The future tense in Bengali, apart from being used in a modal sense, can function as the 'aftertime' for all other tenses, though the connection with the past habitual is somewhat tenuous and restricted to particular sentence structures (see under viii-c).

The past habitual has two distinct meanings in Bengali - it can either refer to habitual events in the past আমি সব সময় ওখানে যেতাম। *I used to go there all the time.* or it can express a subjunctive আমি এই কথা বলতাম না। *I wouldn't say that.* In this second function, like the future tense, the past habitual can combine with all other tenses. Conditional sentences have not been dealt with in this chapter, though they constitute a Bengali sentence structure which does have sequence of tense. After careful consideration I decided that to include them would seem like a desperate attempt to find **some** rules when the findings of the previous sections are quite capable of standing on their own. In any case, conditional sentences ought to be dealt with in a chapter on Bengali sentence structure, not in a chapter on tenses.

4. BENGALI TIME ADVERBIALS - CLASSIFICATION

In this section I aim to establish a tentative classification of Bengali time adverbials, particularly in so far as their use is restricted to particular tenses. As far as I know, no such classification has been done before for Bengali. Some combinations of time adverbials and tenses are, as in English, immediately seen to be impossible, ie a past tense time adverbial like গতকাল *yesterday* does not combine with future tense forms of a verb *গতকাল আমি তার সঙ্গে দেখা করবো। **I will see him yesterday;* but in many cases the restrictions are much more difficult to establish. The term **adverbial**, as opposed to **adverb**, is used in a functional sense. Adverbials can be syntactically realized as lexical adverbs (এখন *now*), adverb phrases (খুব আস্তে আস্তে *very slowly*), noun phrases (অনেক রাতে *late at night*), postpositions (আগে, পরে) postpositional phrases (আজ পর্যন্ত *until today*), adverbial clauses (আমি যখন আসবো *when I come*) or, and this is particularly significant for Bengali, non- finite verb phrases (তুমি খুলনা গিয়ে *when you have gone to Khulna*). These syntactic realizations of adverbials are adapted from Trask (p 10).

The criteria used in the classification of time adverbials are taken from Wolfgang Klein's book *Time in Language* (pp 142 - 150). He offers a complex semantic analysis of some English time adverbials, but they are dealt with individually and not seen in relation to one another.

Every time adverbial (TADV) can be defined in terms of deixis, ie whether or not it stands in direct relationship to TU (time of utterance). In Bengali, as in English, some TADVs are always deictic.

এইমাত্র *just now* in eg আমি এইমাত্র এলাম। *I have just arrived* is always deictic, others, eg the days of the week can be either deictic আমি বুধবারে কলকাতা যাব।

I will go to Kolkata (next) Wednesday.

or non-deictic

নিউ মার্কেট বুধবারে বন্ধ।

New Market is closed on Wednesdays.

Having established that all tenses in Bengali can be used deictically, time adverbials in Bengali have a somewhat different function from in English. Whereas in English the tense alone gives us a possible reference point (TU or TT), in Bengali time adverbials can be used to establish the deictic or anaphoric relationship.

In English we have the contrast between *ago*, deictic, ie preceding TU and *before*, anaphoric, ie preceding TT. In Bengali, we have আগে, which can be either deictic, as in

সে একটু আগে এই কথা বলেছে। *He said this a little while ago.* or anaphoric, as in

সে তার আগে কিছু বলে নি। *He didn't say anything before that.*

The same is true for পরে, which can be translated as *later* (deictic) or *after* (anaphoric).

This is fairly straightforward, but consider the following two sentences:

আমি সকালে লেবু এনেছিলাম। *I brought lemons THIS morning.* (deictic)

and আমি যখন বাজারে গিয়েছিলাম তখন লেবু আনলাম।

I brought lemons when I went to the market. (anaphoric), according to Klein's criteria (see below). Syntactically, তখন gives a topic time which is removed from TU but semantically these two examples show that the fixing of reference points (Klein, Bhat, Comrie) and, to some extent, the distinction between deictic and anaphoric relata are much less relevant in Bengali than in English. In both the lemon sentences the time adverbials (সকালে and তখন) define a point prior to the moment of speech, they can refer to the same moment in time and can be exchanged for one another. The second New Market sentence above, on the other hand, has neither a deictic nor an anaphoric point of reference. These are the only two categories Klein allows whereas Bhat with his distinction between deictic and non-deictic would be able to include this and other sentences which come roughly under what Smith calls 'regular or habitual actions or general truths' (p 99)

Apart from establishing tense restrictions for particular time adverbials, some aspective categories will be taken into account. Comrie (1976, p 16ff) gives the following aspective contrasts, with English examples:

- stative vs dynamic (active), ie a verb like *know* vs a verb like *run*,
- atelic vs telic, ie verbs with no in-built end point (like *sing*) vs verbs that assume an end point like *cooking dinner*),
- punctual vs durative, eg *switching the light on* vs *reading a book*,
- imperfective vs perfective, ie viewed from inside a situation, eg *was going* vs viewed as a whole, eg *had gone*.

This last parameter is a straight tense distinction in English, but not likely to be quite so simple in Bengali, eg the simple past can be used perfectly, as in আমরা এইমাত্র ভাত খেলাম। *We have just eaten*, or imperfectly, as in আমরা সে সময়ে ভাত খেলাম। *We were eating at that time*. This use of the simple past can perhaps explain why the past continuous is relatively rare in Bengali.

Klein distinguishes between the following functional types of time adverbials (TADVs)

- i) positional temporal adverbials (*yesterday, before the autopsy, at five o'clock, in the night*)
- ii) adverbials of frequency (*often, once in a while, rarely, always, three or four times a year*)
- iii) adverbials of duration (*briefly, for a while, within one hour, during the autopsy*)
- iv) adverbials which can indicate the position of a situation in a series of (possible) situations
(*at the beginning, eventually, at last*)
- v) *still, already, again* (these are deemed by Klein to be unclassifiable)

In order to take a closer look at the semantic properties of Bengali TADVs, I would also like to take the following questions into account:

- a) is there a direct relationship to TU or to TT (deictic or anaphoric relata, Klein, p 66), and, if so, can this relationship be described as preceding, coinciding with or following TU or TT eg আজকে *today*, কালকে *tomorrow* (deictic) or তারপরে *after that*, তার আগে *before that* (anaphoric) ?
- b) can the before-, simultaneous- or after - relationship to either TU or TT be specified any further? Cf the difference between অনেক আগে *a long time ago* and কিছুক্ষণ আগে *a little while ago* is one of distance to TU.
- c) is the lexical content of the TADV either left-bounded (ie has a fixed starting point) or right-bounded (ie has a fixed end point)? eg in Bengali তারপরে *after that* is left-bounded, whereas এই পর্যন্ত *until now* is right-bounded. Many adverbials, of course, are not bounded at all, eg বারবার *again and again*.
- d) are there any tense restrictions?
- e) are there aspectual restrictions?

Not all of these criteria apply to every time adverbial, but the adverbials need to be looked at one by one in order to establish some classification. The list of time adverbials is, by necessity, selective and restricted and does not take into account adverbial clauses or non-finite verb phrases. What I am concerned with mainly is the tendency of time adverbials to associate with particular tenses according to their semantic properties. Bengali tenses can be seen to have primary and secondary uses. The simple past is used for narrating past events (primary use) and also, in spoken language, for immediate past and immediate future (secondary use). The simple present and present continuous in past tense contexts (scenic present) also constitute a secondary use of these tenses.

5. TIME ADVERBIALS AND THE TENSES THEY ARE USED WITH

এখন *now*

As a positional time adverbial, cooccurrent with TU, এখন can extend over a matter of minutes, eg

আমরা এখন ভাত খাবো।

We will eat now.

or a matter of months, even years, eg

সে এখন স্কুলে যায়।

He goes to school now.

উনি এখন অবসরপ্রাপ্ত হয়ে গিয়েছেন।

He has retired now.

This sentence shows that এখন is left- but not right-bounded, ie he will stay retired for the rest of his life. Because of its direct link with TU, এখন is not used with either the past continuous or the past perfect. The past habitual can be used in the subjunctive mood, eg

আমি পারলে এখন যেতাম।

If I could, I would go now.

এখনই (এক্ষুণি) *just now*

This is a positional time adverbial, left- and right-bounded, deictic and very close to TU, referring either to the immediate future or the immediate past. Its extension in time is much narrower than that of এখন. In spite of its proximity to TU it is not often used with the simple present, but present continuous, present perfect, future tense and simple past (secondary) are regularly used. Examples are:

with future tense

এক্ষুণি এসে যাবে। *He will turn up at any minute.* (Un Nobi, p 28)

with present continuous

আমি এখনই তার কাছে যাচ্ছি। *I am going to see him right now.*

with simple past

এখনই একটা ঘর খালি হল। *A room has just become vacant.* (S)

(with past continuous)

আমার এক্ষুণি দেখতে ইচ্ছা করছিল। *I wish I could see them right now.* (Das, p 109)

At first glance, this seems unusual but there is, in fact, hardly any connection between এক্ষুণি and the finite verb form. The sentence could also read

আমার ইচ্ছা করছিল (তাদের) এক্ষুণি দেখতে।

which makes it clear that এক্ষুণি belongs with the infinitive দেখতে. এখনই is therefore not used with past continuous or past perfect.

তখন *then*

তখন is the anaphoric equivalent to এখন, ie it has the same relationship to TT that এখন has to TU. তখন is rarely used with simple present verb forms, but present continuous forms can be found in a scenic sense within a past tense context, eg

প্রকাণ্ড অফিস বাড়িতে যখন ঢুকলাম তখন বুকটা খুকখুক করছে।

When I entered the huge office block, my heart was pounding. (S)

Other examples are:

with present (or, more likely, past) perfect

মনে রাখবে, তখনও বাংলাদেশে ভাগ হয় নি।

Remember that Bangladesh wasn't yet divided then. (S)

and in a positive sentence

তখন এই দুর্ঘটনা হয়েছে। *That's when the accident happened.*

তখন is frequently used with its correlative যখন, eg

with simple past

যখন পিতৃদেবের মৃত্যু হয় তখন আমি স্থানান্তরে ছিলাম। *When father died I was away. (M)*

with future tense

তুমি যখন আসবে তখন আমরা তাস খেলবো। *When you come we will play cards.*

The past habitual with তখন can be either subjunctive, eg

তা জানলেও আমি তাকে তখন টাকা দিতাম না।

Even if I had known this I wouldn't have given her money then.

or used in its past tense sense:

আমি তখন এই কথা জানতাম না। *I didn't know that then.*

আজকে *today*

আজকে is, like এখন, positional and deictic, but it is left- and right-bounded and has a precisely defined relationship to TU. আজকে has no tense restrictions.

Bhat, in his discussion on time adverbials in Kannada, holds that the Kannada equivalent to আজকে 'ivattu' has to be seen as non-deictic as it can be used with either past or future tense forms. This is of course also true in Bengali but the parameter seems to me to be one of directionality rather than of deixis. The meaning of আজকে stretches in both directions from TU, whereas both গতকাল *yesterday* and আগামিকাল *tomorrow* are one-directional.

গতকাল / গত মাস / গত বছর *yesterday, last month, last year*

All of these are positional, deictic and defined as preceding TU in a precise relationship. They differ according to their extension in time and are left- and right-bounded. By nature of their semantic properties they do not combine with future tense verb forms. The following sentence with a simple present verb form may, at first, seem unusual:

গত পনেরো বছরে তেমন ঝগড়াঝাটি স্মরণেই আসে না মিতার।

Mita couldn't remember a fight like that in the last fifteen years. (Debsen, p 150)

But the discrepancy between the adverbial and the verb tense is explained by the split of the sentence into two parts. A better English translation would be

Mita has no memory that there was ever a fight like that in the last fifteen years

আগামীকাল / আগামী মাস / আগামী বছর *tomorrow, next month, next year*

These are the post-TU equivalents to গতকাল / মাস / বছর etc. They do not combine with simple past, past continuous and past perfect verb forms.

কালকে *tomorrow, yesterday*

কালকে (either preceding or following TU) is in contrast to আজকে (cooccurrent with TU), but, like আজকে, it is left- and right-bounded and in a precise relationship to TU, with its meaning determined by the verb tense. There are no tense restrictions.

ভোরে, সকালে, বিকালে, রাত্রে etc *at dawn, in the morning, in the afternoon, at night etc*

These nominal, positional time adverbials can be deictic, either preceding or following TU, depending on the verb tense, eg

ও সকালে এসেছিলো। *He came this morning.* or

ও সকালে চলে যাবে। *He will leave tomorrow morning.*

They can also be non-deictic when they are used with a simple present verb form, eg

বাচ্চারা সকালে স্কুলে যায়। *The children go to school in the morning.*

There are no tense restrictions. The same properties apply to the days of the week, months etc.

দিনে *in the day*

Although this is a positional time adverbial which is left- and right-bounded, there is no obvious deictic or anaphoric relationship. The most common tense used with দিনে is undoubtedly the simple present, eg

সে দিনে ঘুমায়। *He sleeps in the day time.*

This could well be the only really acceptable tense, as for everything else সে দিনে *that day*, referring to a specific day, should be used. দিনে, on its own, is used deictically in sentences like

আমি দিনে যাবো। *I will go in the day time,*

contrasting with রাত্রে *at night*, to distinguish between night and day buses in Bangladesh, but this is a rather idiosyncratic use.

সে সময়ে *at that time* (সে দিন *on that day*)

This is a positional time adverbial cooccurring with TT either in the future or, more commonly, in the past. There is no boundedness and the time span সে সময়ে refers to can vary, eg

within the same day

সে সময়ে পরিমল এল। *Porimol arrived just then.* (Kar, p 113)

or years before or after 'TT'

সে সময়ে আমি দেশের বাইরে ছিলাম। *I was abroad at the time.*

সে দিন, on the other hand, though it can be positioned in the past or the future, is both left- and right-bounded. Examples are:

with future tense

টিকিট যে দিন পাবেন, সে দিন যাবেন।

They will go on the day they get a ticket. (Das, p 107)

with simple past

যেদিন এই ঘটনা হয় সেদিন তুমি কোথায় ছিলে।

Where were you on the day this happened? (M)

with past perfect

সেদিনও যেন কাদের কাদের বাড়ি গিয়েছিলেন।

On that day also he visited all sorts of people. (Bandyopadhyay, p 157)

সে সময়ে or সে দিন are not used with the simple present but the present continuous can be used in a scenic sense. All other tenses are possible.

তার আগে *before that*

A right-bounded positional time adverbial, তার আগে precedes a TT either in the future or the past, eg

পবিত্র কিছু বলতে যাচ্ছিল তার আগে টুনি কথা বলল।

Tuni spoke just as Pabitra was about to say something. (Kar, p 73)

ও শূক্রবারে আসবে। তার আগে কিন্তু টেলিফোন করবে।

He will come on Friday, but he will phone before that.

তার আগে refers to a point in time (removed from TU) which has to have been defined in the preceding context. It can be used with all tenses, but the use of simple present and present continuous is restricted to scenic use in past tense contexts.

তারপরে *after that*

তারপরে has the same semantic properties as তার আগে, except that it follows a TT and is left-bounded. Examples are:

প্রথমে সে নিজের ঘরে গিয়ে খুব কাঁদলো, তারপরে একসময় উঠে চোখ মুছে ওপরে গেল।

At first she went to her room and cried a lot. Then at one point she got up, wiped her eyes and went upstairs. (Bandyopadhyay, p 79)

তারপর দেখা যাবে... *After that we will see ...* (Kar, p 113)

All tenses are possible, but, again, simple present and present continuous can only be used in past tense contexts.

এই মুহূর্তে *at this moment*, সে মুহূর্তে *at that moment*

These two positional time adverbials could be considered to be in contrast to one another, ie এই মুহূর্তে cooccurrent with TU and সে মুহূর্তে cooccurrent with (usually a past tense) TT. Both normally have a narrow time range. Examples are:

আমি এই মুহূর্তে অন্য কিছু চিন্তা করতে পারি না।

I can't think about anything else at the moment. (Un Nobl, p 17)

আর ঠিক সেই মুহূর্তেই ঘটে গেল বিস্ময়কর ঘটনাটা।

And just at this moment this amazing thing happened. (Bandyopadhyay, p 77)

The use of এই মুহূর্তে is restricted by its close proximity to TU. I found no examples with present perfect, past continuous or past perfect. সে মুহূর্তে is not used with simple present and present continuous, except possibly in a scenic function.

একটু পরে *a bit later*

This can be either deictic, as in

আমি একটু পরে টেলিফোন করবো। *I will phone a bit later.*

or anaphoric, as in

একটু পরে জানকী উঠে বসলেন। *A bit later Janki sat up.* (Debsen, p 43).

In both cases Tsit comes after TU or TT, but the time range is fairly narrow. একটু পরে can be used in all tenses, but use with the simple present is rare.

অনেক আগে *a long time ago*

As একটু পরে this is a positional deictic adverbial but with Tsit preceding TU, ie right-bounded, and a longer time span involved. Whereas একটু পরে is restricted to a matter of minutes after TU, অনেক আগে can refer to hours

চাটা অনেক আগে জুড়িয়ে গেছে। *The tea went cold a long time ago.* or years

উনি অনেক আগে মারা গেছেন। *He died a long time ago.*

অনেক আগে, like একটু পরে can also be used with an anaphoric reference point

তার আসার অনেক আগে তোমাকে কাজটা শেষ করতে হবে।

You will have to finish the work long before he comes.

অনেক আগে is not used with simple present or present continuous verb forms, except colloquially, when আগে is understood as *early*, eg

আমি সকালে অনেক আগে উঠি। *I get up very early in the morning.*

এই মাত্র *just now*

This is a positional deictic adverbial (the last one!) which refers to a moment immediately preceding TU, linked with এখনই *just now* which immediately follows TU. The only two tenses used with এই মাত্র are the simple past, eg

কঠিন একটা ধাঁধার সরল সমাধান হয়ে গেল এইমাত্র।

A simple solution has just been found for a difficult puzzle. (Debsen, p 148)

and the present perfect

আমি এইমাত্র ঘুম থেকে উঠেছি। *I've only just woken up.*

সব সময় *always*

সব সময় (or সময়ে) can be used with stative or active verbs, ie it can be either durative or frequentative.

সে সব সময় দেরি করে আসে। *He is always late.*

describes the repeated occurrence of an action, whereas

আমি সব সময়ে পেটের অসুখে ভুগি। *I am always suffering from indigestion.*

(Bidhubhusan Dasgupta, p 149)

is a durative use of সব সময়. It is not always easy to decide from the verb form alone whether an event is frequentative or durative. In the following sentence we have an active verb চলা *move, go* but the sentence as a whole describes a state of mind, not a repeated action:

ভেতরে ভেতরে সবসময়ে কেমন একটা প্রশ্ন-উত্তরের ব্যাপার চলছে।

There were these constant questions and answers going on in her mind.

(Debsen, p 146)

সব সময় is neither right nor left-bounded and naturally combines with simple present and present continuous verb forms. Future tense use, eg

আমি তোমাদের কথা সব সময় মনে রাখবো। *I will always remember you.*

is possible, as is a past habitual use, eg, both as a subjunctive

চিঠি না পেলে উনি সব সময় চিন্তা করতেন।

If he hadn't got the letter he would always be worrying. and as a past tense

সে সব সময় এই গান গাইতো। *She always used to sing this song.*

It is difficult to imagine contexts where সব সময় could be used with present perfect, simple past, past continuous or past perfect verb forms, and I have found no such examples.

মাঝে মাঝে *sometimes*

মাঝে মাঝে is a frequentative time adverbial, describing events that occur at fairly long intervals. As with সব সময়, association with simple present and present continuous verb forms is natural and there is no boundedness. Examples are:

with simple present

মাঝে মাঝে ফিরতেও ইচ্ছা করে না।

Sometimes he doesn't feel like returning. (Pal, p 22)

with present continuous

আসলে, স্বামীকে মাঝে মাঝে চিনতে অসুবিধা হচ্ছে তার।

Actually, she sometimes has problems recognizing her husband. (Debsen, p 146)

The following examples, however, show that মাঝে মাঝে is less restricted in its use than সব সময়.

with past habitual

জয়দেব বিলিতি মাসিক পত্র মাঝে মাঝে পড়তো।

Jayadeb used to read foreign monthly magazines now and then. (S)

with future tense

মাঝে মাঝে আসবি তো আমার সঙ্গে দেখা করতে?

You will come to see me sometimes, won't you? (Bandyopadhyay, p 81)

with present perfect:

মাঝে মাঝে তার মনে হয়েছে রীতার সমস্ত অন্যায় ক্ষমা করেছে কল্যাণ।

Sometimes Rita thought that Kolan had forgiven her all her wrongdoings.

(Das, p 142)

This last (unexpected) example with a present perfect verb form leads to the question of whether মাঝে মাঝে can also be used with the simple past, past continuous or past perfect, eg

? আমি যখন রাজসাহীতে ছিলাম তখন মাঝে মাঝে নদীর পারে গেলাম।

When I was in Rajshahi I sometimes went to the river bank.

The immediate impression is that the past habitual form যেতাম would be more appropriate in this sentence. However, I cannot entirely rule out the other past tense forms.

কখনও , কোনও দিনও না *never*

Failing any other criteria, these will have to be classed as frequentative time adverbials with a frequency factor of zero. The obvious consequence of this is that they are not used with continuous tenses but can be used with either stative or active verbs. Examples are

with present tense

তিনি কখনো রাগ প্রকাশ করেন না। *He never shows his anger. (TYB, p 228)*

with simple past

জয়েন্ট ফ্যামিলির অভিজ্ঞতা তার কোনওদিনই ছিল না।

She had never had the experience of a joint family. (Debsen, p 153)

with present (or past) perfect

তারাপদ ছেলেকে কোনোদিন কিছু বলেনি সরাসরি।

Tarapod had never spoken out about anything to his son. (Kar, p 118)

with future tense

এই বিষয়ে আর কোনো দিন কিছু লিখব না।

I will never write anything on this subject again. (Kar, 139)

The past habitual use is in subjunctive mode:

উনি কোনো দিনও রিকশা উঠতেন না। *He would never go on a rickshaw.*

প্রতিদিন , রোজ *every day, daily*

A frequentative time adverbial which can be used with active or stative verbs. Where মাঝে মাঝে refers to recurring events at indefinite intervals, here they are clearly defined. For semantic reasons there is an affinity with simple present and present continuous verb forms, eg

রোজ দু'বেলা ফোন করছেন কৃষ্ণান। *Krishan phones twice every day.* (Debsen p 151)

সে প্রতিদিন মসজিদে যায়। *He goes to the mosque every day.*

Other tense uses are possible, but only when another adverbial like তখন *then* is added, eg

আমি যখন কলকাতায় ছিলাম তখন আমি প্রতিদিন শাড়ী পরছিলাম।

When I was in Kolkata I wore a saree every day.

and the verb tense in this sentence is actually determined by the positional তখন, not by প্রতিদিন.

একবার, দুবার, বার বার etc *once, twice, again and again*

Like মাঝে মাঝে these are indefinite, non-deictic frequentative adverbials which nonetheless also have a positional quality to them. The verb tense defines the position of occurrence(s) as either before or after TU but not including it. There are no tense restrictions. Examples are

with simple present

কিন্তু সেটাকে বার বার চোখের সামনে এনে হা-হুতাশ করো না।

But thinking about this again and again, don't regret it. (Kar, p 139)

বার বার পিছলে গিয়ে মরি আর কি।

This constant slipping is going to kill me. (Bandyopadhyay, p 116)

with simple past

একবার একটা বাঘ তার চিড়িয়াখানা থেকে গেল পালিয়ে।

Once a tiger escaped from his zoo. (S)

with future tense

তোমাকে অন্তত দুবার পড়তে হবে। *You will have to read (it) at least twice.*

These time adverbials are used with punctual, but not with durative verbs.

এখনও *still*, এখনও না *not yet*

These are the usual translations given, but এখনও is, of course, a combination of এখন *now* and the concessive particle ও, so a closer translation would be *even now*. The Samsad dictionary also gives *till now, even in this state, even after this, notwithstanding this*.

Semantically, these two adverbs are difficult to classify. Rightboundedness, up until the present moment, sounds like a possibility, but examples such as

সে কি এখনও আমার সঙ্গে দেখা করবে? *Will he still meet with me?*

show that the time span of এখনও can extend into the future. As far as Klein's categories are concerned, there is a deictic element, situated prior and including TU and possibly

extending past TU. The use of the simple past in the following sentence strikes me as unusual

পনেরো বছর পরে একটা ক্ষতস্থান যে এখনও এমন কাঁচা ছিল, কে জানত।

Who would have thought that a wound could still be so raw after fifteen years?

(Debsen, p 152)

particularly when it precedes this sentence which is structured exactly the same, except for the difference in tense.

এখনও এত রক্ত ঝরতে পারে, কে জানত।

Who would have thought that she could still get so upset? (Debsen, p 152)

The use of ছিল in the first of these two sentences could be determined by the fact that the incomplete verb আছি only has simple present and simple past forms, but the sentence would be just as grammatical if the ছিল was simply dropped.

এখনও can be used with the present continuous

বেঁচে থাকার যন্ত্রগুলো এখনও কোনো রকমে চলছে।

The organs keeping him alive are still more or less working. (Kar, p 140)

the future tense (see above) and, most commonly, with the simple present, but not with present perfect, simple past (notwithstanding the above), past continuous and past perfect. The past habitual can be used in its subjunctive sense, especially in elliptic conditional sentences, eg

ও এখনও অশিক্ষিত থাকতো। *He would still be illiterate.*

এখনও না has different tense restrictions. It is very common with the present perfect

এখনও সন্ধ্যা হয় নি। *It isn't evening yet.* (S)

possible with the simple present

ও এখনও স্কুলে যায় না। *He doesn't go to school yet.*

and the future tense

আমি এখনও ওখানে যেতে পারব না। *I won't be able to go there yet.*

Use with continuous tenses is imaginable, eg

তার অসুখের জন্যে সে এখনো অফিসে যাচ্ছে না।

Because of his illness he is not going to the office yet;

and use with the simple past is rare, but I have found the following example

তোরা কি এখনও খুনসুটি ছাড়তে পারলি না?

Can you still not stop your bickering? (Kar, p 120)

এইরমধ্যে, ইতিমধ্যে *in the meantime*

Both of these are often translated as *already* but, semantically, they cover a time span reaching from a point in the past to either TU or TT, which means that they are durative, deictic/ anaphoric and right-bounded. They can be used with stative or active verbs and have a perfective aspect, eg

বাসন্তী এইরমধ্যে রান্না শেষ করে ফেলল।

In the meantime, Basanti had finished cooking. (Kar, p 81)

ইতিমধ্যে অমিতের স্ত্রী তাদের জন্য চা এনেছে।

In the meantime, Amit's wife brought them tea. (Das, p 109)

They are not used with simple present, present continuous or future tense.

এই পর্যন্ত *until now*

Similar to এইরমধ্যে and ইতিমধ্যে this is a durative, right-bounded time adverbial, but less easily removed from TU, unless it is connected to other time adverbials, eg with simple past

রওনা হবার আগে পর্যন্ত ওঁর কাছে গেলাম না।

I didn't go near him until it was time to set off. (Bandyopadhyay, p 84) or

with future tense

তার না আসা পর্যন্ত এখানে থাকতে হবে। *We have to stay here until he comes.*

এই পর্যন্ত naturally combines with the present perfect, eg

এই পর্যন্ত কাজ করেছি। *I have been working up till now.*

and is unlikely to be used with simple present, present continuous, future tense, past continuous and past perfect. The past habitual can be used in a subjunctive sense, eg

আমি এই পর্যন্ত থাকতে পারতাম। *I could have stayed until now.*

এই পর্যন্ত is used with durative verbs.

এতক্ষণ, এতদিন *for so long*

এতক্ষণ is a durative time adverbial which can be either deictic (up until the present moment) or anaphoric (for a stretch of time in the past) and is right-bounded. The time span it refers to is relatively short, ie not likely to stretch over more than a few hours. For longer stretches of time the word এতদিন literally *for so many days* would be used. Examples are with simple past

এতক্ষণ বেশ ভাল আলোচনা হলো। *We've had a good talk until now.* (Dasgupta, p 154)

এত ব্যথা বুকে লুকিয়ে তুই এতদিন কাটালি?

Have you spent so long hiding all this pain inside? (Das, p 111)

with past cont

ব্যোমকেশ এতক্ষণ চুপ করে দাঁড়িয়ে সব দেখছিলেন।

Standing silently awhile, Byomakes observed everything. (S)

with past perf

সেবা এতক্ষণ চুপ করেছিলেন। *Sheba had been silent so far.* (Das, p 121)

এতক্ষণ is unlikely to be used with either the simple present or the future tense, though the present continuous is possible, eg

এতক্ষণ যাচ্ছি, কোন সময় পৌছবো?

We've been going for so long. What time will we get there?

Milne has the following example with a present perfect verb form, translating এতক্ষণ with *by this time*. Both the example and the translation sound unusual, if not wrong, to me.

এতক্ষণ তিনি মরে গিয়াছেন। *He is dead by this time.* (M)

I would have thought that এইরমধ্যে *in the meantime* would be more common in this context.

সারাদিন, সারারাত *all day, all night*

These are durative time adverbials which have no tense restrictions. When used with any tense but the simple present they have a deictic relationship to TU, ie they can only refer to the same, the previous or the following day, eg

তুমি সারাদিন কিছু কর নি। *You didn't do anything all day.* or, with the future tense

উনি সারারাত জেগে থাকবে। *He will stay up all night.*

With the simple present the deictic relationship is gone.

সে সারাদিন বাদাম খায়। *He eats peanuts all day long.*

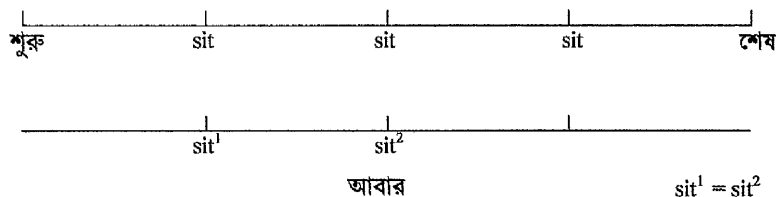
does not refer to today, but, more likely, to every day.

The only kinds of verbs which can be used with these adverbials are either stative or atelic dynamic, ie it is not possible to say

*আমি সারাদিন খুলনা গিয়েছিলাম। * *I went to Khulna all day.*

আবার *again*

আবার is semantically difficult to classify. It expresses the repetition of a previous event (either in the past or the present) but there is no explicit deictic or anaphoric relationship. The only comment on the relationship between আবার and TU is that the event to be repeated has to come before TU. There is a sense of left-boundedness (ie after the event that is to be repeated) but this is also not explicit. Klein claims that *again* in English is not classifiable, but I think that আবার could be defined as indicating 'the position of a situation in a series of possible situations' (Klein, p 149), similar to শুরুতে *at the beginning*, শেষে *at the end* etc. The difference between শুরুতে and শেষে on the one hand and আবার on the other is that শুরুতে and শেষে have a situation-external referent, whereas আবার (sit^2) is defined by its relationship with (sit^1). This can be shown in the following graph:

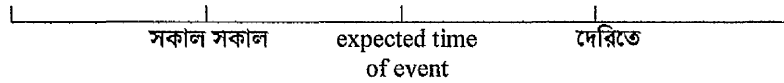


আবার has no tense restrictions and can be used with active or stative verbs.

সকাল সকাল *early*, দেরিতে *late*

These, and the following three time adverbials, can be described in Klein's terminology as "indicating the position of a situation in a series of possible situations" (Klein, p 149).

However, both সকাল সকাল and দেরিতে contain a semantic element of expectation, which the other adverbials don't have.



There are no deictic/ anaphoric relationships and no tense restrictions. Examples are

আমি কাজটা সকাল সকাল শেষ করে ফেলেছি। *I finished the work early.*

ওরা খুব দেরিতে ভাত খায়। *They eat very late.*

Neither of these two adverbials are likely to be used with stative verbs.

প্রথমে *at first*

As the above, প্রথমে is non-deictic and has no tense restrictions, but there is an element of right-boundedness, ie it has to refer to an event preceding another. Examples are with simple past:

প্রথমে সে নিজের ঘরে গিয়ে খুব কাঁদলো, তারপরে একসময় উঠে চোখ মুছে ওপরে গেল।

At first she went to her room and cried a lot. Then at one point she got up, wiped her eyes and went upstairs. (Bandyopadhyay, p 79)

পবিত্র প্রথমে কথাটা ধরতে পারল না।

Pobitro didn't understand at first what was being said. (Kar, p 107)

শুরুতে *at the beginning*

The difference between শুরুতে and the previous প্রথমে is that শুরুতে is used for events which have a fixed time span and presuppose following stages of the event, ie a middle and an end, whereas প্রথমে does not have the same restriction. প্রথমে can of course also be followed, as in the sentence above, by other events, but there is no implication of a fixed end point.

শুরুতে can be used in all tenses, but use with the present tenses is unlikely. Example with simple past

ও শুরুতে তোমাকে সব বুঝিয়ে দিল। *He explained everything to you at the beginning.*

The verb form in this sentence could equally be in future tense, past continuous or past perfect.

Past habitual use is in a subjunctive sense:

আমি শুরুতে তাকে বলতাম যে... *I would have told her at the beginning that...*

শেষে (অবশেষে) *at the end, finally*

An appropriate adverbial to finish with! শেষে has much the same properties as শুরু, but can also refer to the end point of a period of waiting rather than an actual event, eg

অবশেষে সে তার ঋণ শোধ করে দিয়েছে। *He has finally paid off his debt.*

Use with the present perfect simple, past and future tense are common, but a present continuous is also possible, as in

অবশেষে আমি বুঝতে পারছি। *Now I finally understand!*

Neither শুরুতে, nor শেষে are likely to be used with stative verbs.

SUMMARY

I am fully aware that there are many more time adverbials which could have been taken account of in this study. If I include এখন *now*, এখনই *just now*, এখনও *still*, why not include their equivalents with তখন *then*, যখন *when* (correlative), কখন *when* (interrogative)? My choice of time adverbials represents the attempt to identify significant and typical semantic and syntactic features of Bengali time adverbials as a whole, on the assumption that the difference between এখনই *just now* and তখনই *just then* is the same as that between এখন and তখন. The features of মাঝে মাঝে *sometimes* are likely to be valid also for প্রায়ই *often* and সাধারণত *usually*, with only a difference in frequency of occurrence. Similarly, by including একটু পরে *a bit later* and অনেক আগে *a long time ago* the opposite combinations are also covered.

I've had some disagreements with some Bengali friends about tense use for some time adverbials, eg এই পর্যন্ত, *until now* which I was told could be used in all tenses. I agree that a context can be created where people will say, eg

আজকে সকালে মাল আসছে, এই পর্যন্ত আমরা কোনও খবর শুনিনি না। (simple present)

Until the post came this morning, we haven't had any news.

where এই পর্যন্ত actually refers to a point of time in the past tense, ie *this morning*. The same tendency to use deictic (referring to the time of speech) instead of anaphoric (removed from the time of speech) forms can be seen in pronouns এটা *this* instead of সেটা *that*, adverbs এখানে *here* instead of সেখানে *there*, even though these forms are semantically imprecise.

A different point is the one I made under the entry for প্রতিদিন (p 28), where the addition of other time adverbials expands tense use and, in effect, takes over the role of determining tense. That is why I have tried to look at Bengali time adverbials strictly one by one in order to establish their tense restrictions.

This rather elaborate exercise in connecting time adverbials with the use of tenses in Bengali was meant to take us away from the idea that there are 'no rules'. Yes, in Bengali the use of a particular tense is sometimes a stylistic device and yes, we find sentences with past perfect and future tense used together, but the tense restrictions accompanying the use of time adverbials show clearly that there is a system behind the 'gay abandon' (WR, p 231) of Bengali tense use. The following statements can now be made:

1. There is a frequent contrast between present and non-present tenses. The simple present, and only the simple present, can assume a tenseless quality in referring to events which are always

true or occur regularly, eg বর্ষাকালে বৃষ্টি হয়। *It rains in the monsoon*, সে রোজ বাজারে যায়। *He goes to the market every day*.

In other contexts, the simple present tense is very much tied to TU, and time adverbials which expressly exclude TU are not used with the simple present. These time adverbials have a varied range of semantic boundaries, for instance positional: গতকাল *yesterday*, আগামিকাল *tomorrow*, তখন *then*, সে সময়ে *at that time*, পরে/আগে *after/before*, এই মাত্র *just now*, adverbials describing a time span এইর মধ্যে *in the meantime*, এই পর্যন্ত *until now*, এতক্ষণ *for so long*, or adverbials which serve to position an event within a process, such as প্রথমে *at first*, শুরুতে *at the beginning*, শেষে *at the end*.

2. There is a logical contrast between simple and continuous tenses which affects 'no-time' adverbials such as কখনও না *never*, এখনও না *not yet*, কোনও দিনও না *never*. These adverbials are not used with continuous tenses.
3. Both the future tense and the past habitual have a wide open field in Bengali and there are very few contexts where their use is restricted (see 1.). The future tense is quite simply the post-tense for all other tenses except in subjunctive contexts, where the past habitual is used.

A successful study of tense use in Bengali in connection with time adverbials depends above all simply on the accumulation of example sentences. Though assumptions can be made as to which time adverbials are used with which tense, the first and crucial step is to look at and list their occurrences, wherever we find them in written texts or spoken language. Only with a substantial body of language material will it be possible to describe semantic and syntactic parameters accurately. Tense use, in any language, is an area where language changes occur and where differences between written and spoken language are particularly noticeable. We have seen, for instance, that the simple past tense has different functions in spoken and in written language. This type of situation could also influence the use of time adverbials, eg the use of এখনই with simple past tense is very much a spoken language use. In order to do justice to these occurrences, a proper survey of spoken language needs to be done.

Appendix: Time Adverbials

CHAPTER 5

VERBS OF BEING AND HAVING IN BENGALI

Any new student of Bengali will pick up very quickly that Bengali has no verb *to have*, and instead of

I have a brother in Bengali you say আমার ভাই আছে। ie *Of me a brother exists.*

This is a sufficient equivalent for new learners who will want to be able to express simple sentences like the above early on in their learning stages. Looking up the verb *to have* in the 'proper' English-Bengali dictionaries, ie the Samsad, Progressive and Bangla Academy dictionaries, one finds entries like

অধিকারে বা আয়ত্তে পাওয়া	<i>to hold in possession or control</i>
অভ্যন্তরে ধারণ করা	<i>to contain</i>
পাওয়া	<i>to obtain</i>
আবজ্ঞলাভ করা	<i>to experience</i>
সহ করা বা ভোগ করা	<i>to endure, undergo</i>
সুযোগ নষ্ট হওয়া বা পাইবার সম্ভাবনা নির্মূল হওয়া	<i>to have had it.</i>

There is no mention in any of these entries of the so crucial incomplete verb *আছে*-. In the Bengali-English parts of these dictionaries the forms of *আছে*-. are given as the verb *to be* in English. Thus we have, from the beginning, an overlap of the concepts of *being* and *having* in Bengali which needs to be tackled. The fact that the verb *have* does not as such exist in Bengali raises the question of how the concept of *having* is realised in Bengali or whether, indeed, such a concept exists.

Apart from the possessive meaning of *have*, which in Bengali is expressed through an existential structure, English has a variety of non-possessive uses of *have*. Here are some examples with their Bengali equivalents. They are equivalents rather than literal translations, for instance the Bengali for *I won't have smoking in my house* is literally *Smoking is forbidden in my house*. What these examples show is the gap between supralinguistic concepts and their realisation in actual language, in English as much as in Bengali, and also the fact that English uses the verb *have* as a kind of blanket for more descriptive verbs (the English examples are adapted from Longman's English Grammar, p 201).

English with <i>have</i>	'replaced' English verb	Bengali equivalent
Have a cup of tea!	drink	এক কাপ চা খান।
I will have some more rice.	eat / take	আমি আর একটু ভাত খাব / নেব।
We had a nice day.	spend (time)	আমরা সুন্দর একটা দিন কেটেছি।
I was having a bath.	be engaged in	আমি গা ধুচ্ছিলাম।

English with <i>have</i>	'replaced' English verb	Bengali equivalent
He had an accident.	happen	তার একসিডেন্ট হয়েছে।
She has a cold.	catch	তার সর্দি লেগেছে।
You will have the letter tomorrow.	get, receive	তুমি চিঠিটা কালকে পাবে।
She has a serious illness	suffer from	তার কঠিন রোগ আছে।
He has no time to talk.	set aside	তার কথা বলার সময় নেই।
I won't have smoking in my house.	tolerate, permit	আমার বাসায় সিগারেট খাওয়া নিষেধ।

One of my objectives in this thesis is to interpret Bengali language structures from a language-internal rather than from a translation point of view. To start from our semantic concept of 'verbs of being or having' and fit the Bengali structures around this would make a language-internal interpretation impossible. I have therefore decided to start from the Bengali structures, namely the verbs হওয়া *be*, become, আছ *be, have*, the so-called zero verb, and to a lesser extent the verb থাকা *stay, remain* and look at their different uses. This means that uses of these verbs which are semantically removed from the concepts of *being* or *having*, eg the use of আছ- following an infinitive to express permission, will also be taken into account.

THE AUTHORS

There is an - albeit almost 30 year old - series on verbs of being 'The verb *be* and its synonyms' edited by John W.M. Verhaar in the Foundations of Language series which deals with the concept in many different languages, including Bengali. The article by Charles Ferguson on 'Being in Bengali' is excellent. It has had a considerable influence on my thoughts in this chapter and has been referred to throughout, so there seems little point in discussing it separately here.

Another article, by Julia Sableski, published in *Language*, Vol 41 (1965) has the promising title 'Equational clauses in Bengali' and aims to provide 'a full description of equational clauses for Standard Colloquial Bengali' (p 439). Sableski distinguishes between equational (subject - complement) sentences which do not contain a verb form, on the one hand, and existential sentences (subject + complement + আছ- eg এখানে অনেক লোক আছে। *There are many people here.*) on the other. She supplies the following table:

sentence types	affirmative	negative
equational independent	zero-verb	ন- or না
equational dependent	হওয়া	ন-

existential independent	আছে-	নেই
existential dependent	থাকা	না থাকা

Sableski does not give examples for each of these sentence types, but from the verb forms given we can assume that the sentences below (with their negative counterparts) are representative. There are different types of dependent clauses in Bengali, such as a great variety of relative clauses, clauses with যেন *so that*, with যে *that*, with যেমন *as if* and so on. Not all of these elicit the features which are required here. Conditional sentences do have these features in that they require a verb form and in that আছে- is replaced by থাকা. Sableski herself gives conditional sentences as examples elsewhere in her article, so I have used them here; but they are just one possibility for this type of structure.

equational independent	eg সে আমার বান্ধবি।	<i>She is my friend.</i>
equational dependent	eg সে আমার বান্ধবি যদি হয় ...	<i>If she is my friend ...</i>
existential independent	eg তার একটি ছেলে আছে।	<i>He has one son.</i>
existential dependent	eg তার ছেলে যদি থাকে ...	<i>If he has a son ...</i>

If these are her intended sentence types, then the negative form for equational dependent clauses is wrong. It can only be সে যদি আমার বান্ধবি না হয় ... *if she is not my friend ...* not * সে যদি আমার বান্ধবি নয়

Sableski's method of analysis is to provide two native speakers with a corpus of 25, initially defined as affirmative independent equational, sentences and to ask her informants to give her the corresponding negative independent and the affirmative and negative dependent clauses. This does not in itself sound too difficult and an expected pattern (this is with equational sentences only) would be:

independent affirmative (given)	সে আমার বান্ধবি।	<i>She is my friend.</i>
independent negative	সে আমার বান্ধবি নয়।	<i>She is not my friend.</i>
dependent affirmative	সে আমার বান্ধবি যদি হয় ...	<i>If she is my friend ...</i>
dependent negative	সে আমার বান্ধবি যদি না হয় ..	<i>If she is not my friend ...</i>

Unfortunately, Sableski's two informants contradict themselves and one another and make it impossible for any clear conclusions to be drawn. The main point of disagreement seems to be about the possible omission of আছে in sentences like সেখানে অনেক লোক (আছে)। *There are many people here.* (see also the comparison of sentences 1.6.7 and 1.7.2 below, p 172). On the basis of these interviews, and somewhat arbitrarily, Sableski changes her definition of sentences which can contain আছে- from equational to existential. The sentences in question are along the lines of

আমার ভাইয়ের দুটি মেয়ে।	<i>My brother has two daughters.</i>
বইগুলোতে পাঁচশ পাঁচ।	<i>There are 500 pages in the book.</i>

These are sentences where আছে can be added and an existential/ possessive/ locative (see under 1.3.) interpretation is certainly more logical. The main problem with Sableski's article is her inability to draw any conclusions from her informants' responses due to her own lack of knowledge of Bengali, which is apparent from some very elementar mistakes like * সে আমার যদি বান্ধবি হয় ... for *if she is my friend ...* where she puts যদি *if* in the one position it cannot occupy. However, her categories of independent vs dependent and affirmative vs negative sentences are useful and can be applied further.

E. M. Bykova deals with copulative sentences in Bengali by looking at which word classes can be used with which copular verbs. The following verbs are seen to be able to function as copulas - the translations are hers -:

আছ-	<i>to be, to exist, to be available</i>
থাকা	<i>to be, to remain</i>
রওয়া (রহা)	<i>to remain, to be available</i>
হওয়া	<i>to be, to become</i>
পড়া	<i>to fall</i>

and, added to these, 'the negative link-verb না হওয়া and the negative element নাই/ নেই' (p 131).

Word classes that can combine with these copulas are distributed in this way:

noun (pronoun)	+	আছ-, থাকা, রওয়া, হওয়া, না হওয়া
Sanskrit participle		
চক্র উন্মুক্ত, উপযুক্ত etc	+	আছ-, থাকা, রওয়া, হওয়া
verbal noun	+	আছ-, থাকা, রওয়া, পড়া
form ending in -iya (e)	+	আছ-, থাকা, রওয়া
form ending in -ite (te)	+	থাকা

Even though Bykova does not give examples for these proposed structures, it appears that her definition of 'copula' is not the accepted 'semantically empty formative, which (...) serves to link a subject NP to a predicate' (Trask, p 64). In sentences with, for instance,

a) verbal noun	বইটা টেবিলের উপরে রাখা আছে।	<i>The book is (has been put) on the table.</i>
b) perfective participle	উনি ঘুমিয়ে আছেন।	<i>He is asleep.</i> or
c) infinitive	তুমি হাঁচি দিতে থাকবে।	<i>You will keep sneezing.</i>

the verb forms clearly do not fulfil a copulative function, ie there is no equational factor in them. In sentence a) আছে- has an existential / locative (see under 1.3. below), in sentence b) a stative function. থাকা in sentence c) adds an iterative aspect.

Bykova offers a good explanation about the difference between আছে-, থাকা, রওয়া on the one hand and হওয়া on the other: 'If all the three verbs denote the existence of a certain feature, or of a certain state of the object, হওয়া specifies the development, the forming of the feature, the emergence of the state' (p 132). She gives the following examples to show the aspective difference in the uses of আছে- and হওয়া

এখানে সমস্ত প্রস্তুত আছে। *Everything is ready here.* (perfective aspect) and
 ভুবনের মা দুঃখিত হলেন। *Bhubon's mother was saddened.* (imperfective aspect)

I agree with her interpretation but cannot follow her conclusion from this that হওয়া is 'the most common copula'. Again, this may be due to her particular undefined understanding of the term 'copula'.

Bykova discusses the semantic differences between আছ- and থাকা when used in structurally similar sentences, with থাকা conveying 'the shade of habitual, iterative action' (p 132). Her examples and translations are:

আমার টাকা আছে। *I have money.* and
 আমার টাকা থাকে। *Sometimes I have money.*

This is not immediately convincing but her point is nevertheless valid. A better example, showing the habitual aspect of থাকা, may be

সে কলকাতায় আছে। *He is in Kolkata.*
 সে কলকাতায় থাকে। *He lives in Kolkata (but may be elsewhere at the moment).*

She also points out the aspectual implications of the perfective participle with আছ- in contrast to the finite verb forms (present continuous, present perfect, past perfect, past continuous). The finite verb forms express 'action in progress' eg বসেছে *he sat down*, whereas the combination with আছ-, ie সে বসে আছে shows the actual state: *is (in the state of) sitting down*. Combinations of perfective participle with থাকা indicate 'habitual action or state that repeatedly occurs within a certain period of time'. (p 133)

Bykova's passage on combinations with copulas offers some interesting suggestions, but also has some inconsistencies. Particularly baffling to me is that in discussing copulas there is no mention of the zero verb which I consider to be more common as a copula than হওয়া.

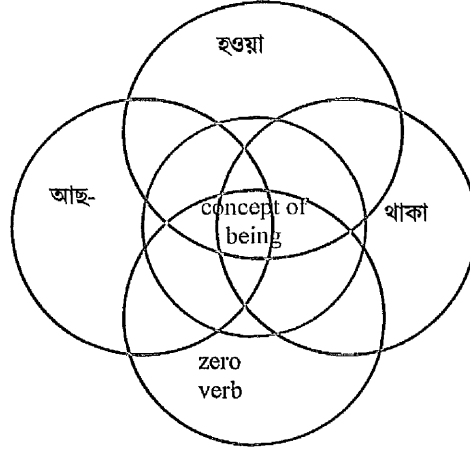
THE STRUCTURES

As mentioned earlier, I intend to use as a starting point for this chapter not the supra-linguistic concept of 'being', but the Bengali verbs which can be used to express this concept though their semantic potential can also extend further. The verbs and their possible meanings are:

1. আছ- *be, be present, exist, (have)*
2. zero verb *be (in copulative uses)*
3. হওয়া *be, become, happen, take place, turn out*
4. থাকা *be, continue to be, remain, stay, keep on*

If we want to apply the overlapping circles image (Venn diagram) to these structures, then we would have four partly-overlapping circles - the exact extent and the nature of overlap needs to be defined through analyzing the semantic properties of individual sentences. The supra-linguistic concept of *being* would be represented by a circle which overlaps with and is at the same time contained by the

four verbal circles, ie no part of the *being* circle can be outside of them. A visual representation could look like this:



Bykova also gives the verb *রওয়া* - the verbal noun form given in the dictionary is *রহা*, but it conjugates the same way as *হওয়া* - which deserves at least a mention. The Samsad dictionary gives it as 'same as *থাকা* ', but this is not quite accurate. *রওয়া* is often used in the present perfect tense to refer to something or someone *remaining behind, being left over*, eg

অনেক ভাত রয়েছে। *There is a lot of rice left (over).*

মা বাড়িতে রয়েছেন। *Mother stayed (behind) at home.*

থাকা cannot be used in this sense. The closest equivalent is with *আছে* but this does not have the same dynamic aspectual nuance. The future tense of this use would, however, be formed with *থাকা* - I don't think I have ever heard *রওয়া* being used in the future tense. Since *রওয়া* does not, as far as I can tell, in any context express a simple state of existence (*be*), I am not including it in my discussion.

The same is true for *পড়া* *fall*, which Bykova postulates as a copula indicating 'a sudden, unexpected change in the object's state' (p 132). She gives as an example:

একটা বিবর্ণ আচ্ছাদনে চারিদিক ঢাকা পড়িয়াছে।

All about was covered with a colourless pall. (p 132)

This does not exactly suggest a 'sudden, unexpected change', but, in any case, I would not consider it a copulative use as there is no equational factor involved.

1. uses of আছ-

আছ- is an incomplete verb which only has simple present (আছি, আছ, আছে, আছেন) and simple past tense forms (ছিলাম, ছিলে, ছিল, ছিলেন) and no non-finite verb forms. All other tenses and non-finite forms are supplied by forms of the verb থাকা *stay, remain* or, in specific cases, by forms of হওয়া *be, become*. The present tense forms of আছ- are negated with the invariable নেই. Past tense negation is regular.

Ferguson divides the uses of আছ- into three 'syntactically and semantically distinct sets' (p 82), namely existential, copulative and auxiliary uses. Although this tidy distribution seems compelling in theory and Ferguson stays with it throughout his discussion, it becomes clear very quickly that actual language use in Bengali is too diverse to be made to fit into three well-defined categories. Ferguson ends up with sentences like

ছেলেটি বসে আছে। *The boy is sitting down.* and
টেবিলে বইটা রাখা আছে। *The book is lying on the table.*

in the category of copulative uses, where they just do not belong! My classification of the uses of আছ- is more moderate and maybe less well-defined as a generalisation, but, I hope, accurate in the details.

1.1. 'auxiliary' use

One of the most basic uses of আছ- is its morphological function in the formation of Bengali compound tenses. In the present and past perfect tense the appropriate finite form of আছ- follows the perfective participle of any verb - the initial আ- a is dropped: eg করে + আছি > করিয়াছি > করেছি *I have done*, দেখে + আছিলেন > দেখিয়াছিলেন > দেখেছিলেন *he had seen*, Present and past continuous tenses are formed with আছ- following the high stem of the verb and dropping the initial আ- a, eg যা- + আছ > যাচ্ছ *you are going* and শিখ- + আছিলাম > শিখছিলাম *I was learning*.

Ferguson calls this an auxiliary use. This is not entirely undisputed. Muhammad says the forms of আছ- and the formation of compound tenses should be seen as separate on the grounds that there is a difference in stress between আমি গিয়েছিলাম *ami gi'yechilam* and আমি গিয়ে ছিলাম *ami 'giye 'chilam*. (Verbal Structure, p 28) (see also under 1.4.)

However, Ferguson validly points to the negation of present and past perfect with present tense verb forms and নি (historically both নি and নেই were expressed by নাই), so the connection between forms of আছ- and the formation of compound tenses remains. Negation of আছ- is invariably নেই, negation of present and past perfect is the present tense form with নি, ie নি contains the verbal আছ- as well as the negative element (Ferguson, p 90), though this leaves the continuous tenses' negative forms (তুমি যাচ্ছ না *you are not going*, আমি শিখছিলাম না *I wasn't learning*) unexplained. The past continuous negative form is, in any case, very rare.

This morphological function of আছ- has become lexicalized and is not productive, so it does not need to concern us further here.

1.2. with definite subjects

আছ- is predominantly used in a variety of impersonal constructions with no or indefinite grammatical subjects, but it can also be used with definite subjects, including proper names and pronouns. There is usually a locative component in these sentences. Ferguson points out (p 84) that there is a change in word order [subject + locative + verb], whereas with indefinite subjects the word order is [locative + subject + verb], eg

with indefinite subject 1.2.1 টেবিলের উপরে বই আছে।

There is a book (are books) on the table.

with definite subject 1.2.2 বইটি টেবিলের উপরে আছে। *The book is on the table.*

The simplest sentences with definite subjects are those consisting of a personal pronoun and the appropriate form of আছ-: আমি আছি, তুমি আছ etc. The meaning of these sentences is defined by the context. They can be locative, answering questions like ঘরে কে? *Who is in the room?*, though the more natural answer in this context would be a simple আমি without a verb form. Ferguson mentions this and goes on (p 85): 'The sentence আমি আছি asserts something like *I'm present, I belong to the group, or I'm to be kept in mind.*' I can only add that in my experience this sentence is often used in a wonderfully competent and reassuring way to imply *I'm here, I will see to it, there is no reason for anyone else to worry.* The negative of this states very much the opposite, as in

1.2.3 এই ব্যাপারে আমি নেই।

lit: *I am not in this matter.*

often used to express: *I want nothing to do with this.*

Other examples for the use of আছ- with definite subjects are

1.2.4 কলীচরণ দাস আছেন?

Is Kalicaran Das here? (Smith, p 114)

1.2.5 তুমি কেমন আছ?

How are you?

1.2.6 শনিবারে তোমরা কোথায় ছিলে?

Where were you on Saturday?

1.2.7 সে কি তোমার সঙ্গে নেই?

Isn't he with you?

1.2.8 তিনি কি আছেন? না, তিনি নেই।

Is he here? No, he isn't.

(all Ferguson, p 84)

1.3. existential / locative / possessive uses

This includes what we tell our students is the 'possessive' function of আছ- and which is best translated with *have*, eg

1.3.1. আমার দুটি ভাই আছে। *I have two brothers.* (lit: *my two brothers exist*)

This use is closely linked with the locative function of আছ-; in fact, the sentence above

আমার দুটি ভাই আছে।

could equally mean

My two brothers are here,

depending on the context of the statement. As we have seen, the 'possessive' interpretation of আছ- is largely a concession to English thinking, whereas Bengali uses an existential concept.

One of the questions that arises with this kind of use is whether *আছে*- can be used in a purely existential sense. At first sight this seems unlikely, as there tends to be a locative component present, eg the question *ভূত আছে?* is unlikely to mean *Do ghosts exist?* but *Are there ghosts here/ there?* An enquiry after the existence of ghosts is in Bengali more likely to be

ভূত কি সত্যি (or আসলে) হয়? lit: *Do ghosts really 'occur'?*

However, a sentence like 1.3.1 *আমার দুটি ভাই আছে।* can be seen, from a Bengali point of view, as just such an instance, ie a statement of existence. The locative possibility (*my two brothers are here*) is a contextual alternative which does not invalidate the original existential reading. The following sentences suggest that an ontological use is possible:

1.3.2 এমন সাপ আছে যার লেজের শেষ অংশ ভোঁতা মোটা।

There is such a snake whose tail is thick and blunt at the end. (Smith, p 114)

1.3.3 পাপ ও পুণ্য আছে। *Evil and virtue exist.* (Ferguson, p 83)

1.3.4 আছে দুঃখ, আছে মৃত্যু ... *there is sadness, there is death*

(Tagore, পূজা no 248)

1.3.5 না আছে পেনসন, না আছে গ্রাচুয়িটি, এমনকি শেষ জায়গায় প্রভিডেন্ট ফাণ্ডও ছিল না।

There's no pension, no gratuity, at the last place there wasn't even a provident fund. (Smith, p 114)

1.3.6 অদ্ভুত অসম এক বন্ধুত্ব, ভাল লাগা আছে, দায়িত্ব নেই, ভালবাসা আছে, প্রতিশ্রুতি নেই।

A strange, unequal friendship: there is liking but no responsibility, there is love but no promise. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 108)

The initial unease in accepting *আছে*- in a purely existential sense is due to a possible overlap with *হওয়া* *be, become, happen, occur*. The semantic properties of *হওয়া* seem to be more suitable for a purely existential use while *আছে*- is more readily associated with the here and now, which can, however, be expanded almost indefinitely to include, for instance, *এই জীবনে* *in this life*, *এই দুনিয়ায়* *on this earth*, *এই সংসারে* *in this world* as in sentence 1.3.4. Sentences 1.3.5 and 1.3.6 undoubtedly contain a locative element and sentence 1.3.3 would be equally, if not more, acceptable as *পাপ ও পুণ্য হয়।*

In order to demonstrate further the overlap between existential/ possessive and locative features in the use of *আছে*-, Ferguson has the following examples

1.3.7 বাড়িতে আমার বই আছে। translated as *My books are at home.* and

1.3.8 আমার বাড়িতে বই আছে। translated as *I have some books at home.*

Though both of these interpretations are possible, the crucial difference between the two sentences is that in sentence 1.3.8. there is no claim of ownership of the books. A more accurate translation would be

There are (some) books at my home.

In connection with section 1.2. above, the two sentences can be seen as 1.3.7. containing a definite and 1.3.8. an indefinite subject. This interpretation undermines Ferguson's rules for word order - the required word order for sentence 1.3.7. according to his rules would have to be *আমার বই বাড়িতে আছে*, which is perfectly possible. I would therefore suggest modifying his rules to say that in sentences

containing an indefinite subject, verb and locative element, the subject cannot precede the locative, whereas definite subjects can either precede or follow the locative, eg

with definite subject, either

বাড়িতে আমার বই আছে। or আমার বই বাড়িতে আছে।

with indefinite subject

আমার বাড়িতে বই আছে। but not * বই আমার বাড়িতে আছে।

আছ- (or নেই) in sentences with definite subjects can precede these subjects for emphasis, eg in locative sentences:

1.3.9 তলে পড়ে আছে শীতল বরফের টুকরো।

There was (lit: lay fallen) a piece of ice in the bottom (of the glass).

(Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 101)

1.3.10 সেখানে না আছে ঘর-দর, না আছে কিছু।

There aren't any houses and the like there, not anything at all.

(Ferguson, p 102)

Compared to the expected সেখানে ঘর-দর নেই, কিছু নেই। the difference in emphasis is immediately obvious. In view of sentences like this and the following, the claim that আছ- is invariably negated by নেই is no longer tenable. We can say that আছ- is usually negated by নেই, but in order to lay stress on the factor of absence আছ can be negated with না; and not only can the verb precede the subject, but না can be placed before the finite verb form.

Similarly, in sentences with existential/ possessive meaning, eg

1.3.11 চট্টগ্রামে নাই আত্মীয়, নাই সজন, না আছে কোনো থাকার জায়গা।

In Chittagong she had no family, no relatives, nowhere to stay.

(Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 94)

as also in sentence 1.3.10, the positioning of the negative particle adds emphasis but also has a phonaesthetically pleasing effect. The sentences have an almost biblical ring to them.

1.4 uses with participles, adjectives and verbal nouns/ adjectives

আছ- is not used as a copula connecting nouns in present tense sentences. These sentences have zero verb, eg সুশিলদা উকিল। *Shushil is a lawyer.*

and many equational sentences with adjectives also use the zero verb rather than আছ-, eg

বাসাটা ছোট। *The house is small.*

গাছটা সুন্দর। *The tree is beautiful,* etc (see under 2.1)

but with some adjectival participles আছ- can function as a copula. Ferguson has the following:

1.4.1 জানালাটি উন্মুক্ত আছে। *The window is open.*

1.4.2 টেবিলে বইটা রাখা আছে। *The book is lying on the table. (p 88)*

The verb form রাখা in this sentence, according to Ferguson, is the past passive participle *having been put* (also referred to as a verbal adjective), but the dividing line between this use and the use of আছি- following a verbal noun is not very clear. Ferguson gives this sentence to demonstrate verbal noun use:

1.4.3 আমার এই বইটা পড়া আছে। *This book has been read by me.*

He classifies this sentence under existential uses but considers the preceding example a copulative use with a passive participle. I cannot see a functional difference of the verb forms in these two sentences. Smith has the following example, classed under verbal adjectives

1.4.4 সব তো তার জানা আছে, যা কিছু মানুষের জানা দরকার।

Everything a person needs to know is known to him. (Smith, p 129)

I consider জানা in this sentence to be a verbal noun. তার জানা আছে and তার জানা দরকার are typical examples for verbal nouns as subjects of sentences. The syntactical connections in the first clause are somewhat unclear as সব could also be considered the subject. The contrast between adjectives and nouns becomes more relevant in the discussion about zero verb versus omission of আছি- (see below, section 2.) but in this case the distinction is less important. Other examples for the use of আছি- with verbal noun forms are

1.4.5 আমার তাকে সে কথা বলা আছে। *I have told him that.* (Ferguson, p 86)

1.4.6 আমার তোমাকে জানা আছে। *You are well known to me.*

(Ferguson, p 86)

1.4.7 তা কিন্তু আমাদের জানা ছিল না। *But we didn't know that.* (Smith, p 45)

In all of these verbal forms, be they nouns or adjectives, there is a passive or at least a stative, as well as a perfective, element. In the following sentences, on the other hand, the genitive verbal noun forms qualify the sentence subjects and are directed towards future action.

1.4.8 আজকে আপনার অনেক কাজ করবার আছে কি?

Do you have a lot of work to do today? (Ferguson, p 85)

1.4.9 আপনাকে আমার একটা কথা বলবার আছে?

I have something to say to you. (Ferguson, p 85)

1.4.10 কিছু কি করার আছে আমাদের? কিছু করার নেই।

Is there anything we can do? There is nothing we can do.

(Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 94)

In sentences 1.4.8 and 1.4.9 the genitive verbal noun form ending in -বার is used. This is sometimes referred to as the future verbal noun (McLeod, p 63) and though it is no longer very commonly used (viz sentence 1.4.10, where the regular verbal noun form is used) its semantic implication of purpose and forward direction is very visible here.

The present and past tense forms of আছি- can be used, following the perfective participle of particular verbs to express the stative aspect of these verbs, eg

1.4.11 আমি বসে ছিলাম। *I was sitting down.* (stative) compared to

1.4.12 আমি বসেছিলাম। *I sat down.* This involves a change of state.

This use is mentioned by Mukherji, who sees it as restricted to intransitive verbs (chapter 14, p 7), Smith as restricted to stative verbs, Ferguson to verbs of bodily motion. He lists: দাঁড়িয়ে আছে is *standing*, ঘুমিয়ে আছে is *asleep*, জেগে আছে is *awake*, শুয়ে আছে is *lying down*, পড়ে আছে is *lying fallen*, বেঁচে আছে is *alive*, তাকিয়ে আছে and চেয়ে আছে is *staring*.

Ferguson says about চেয়ে আছে is *staring* 'This [...] is a good illustration of the semantic limitations of the class of verbs which are used in this construction: চেয়ে occurs in the meaning *stare* but in its common meaning *want* it does not occur in this use'. (p 88)

Both Milne and Muhammad also accept active/ transitive verbs for this structure, eg

1.4.13 ঐশ্বর্য ধর - তাতো ধরেই আছি।

Be patient - Why that's just what I'm doing! (Milne, p 191)

1.4.14 আমি খেয়েছিলাম। I ate. but

1.4.15 আমি খেয়ে ছিলাম। I stayed after the meal. (Muhammad, p 29)

This use of আছ- with active verbs is perhaps not very common but it can express a stative aspect which would not be present in the continuous verb forms. It can also have illocutionary force, eg

1.4.16 আমি কাজ করে আছি। though semantically the same as

1.4.16 a) আমি কাজ করছি। I am working.

can be used expressly to imply *Go away! I'm busy!* I see no reason not to accept these uses.

In direct contradiction to Ferguson's statement about চেয়ে Milne has

1.4.17 আমি কেবল চাহিয়া আছি।

But I merely live in a state of expectation. (Milne, p 191)

Judging by his translation (not always very reliable) Milne considers this to be the transitive verb *want* even though there is no object in the sentence. A clearer example would be:

1.4.18 আমি কেবল ঈশ্বরের দয়া চেয়ে আছি।

I merely live in expectation of God's grace.

As mentioned above, most subject - complement constructions involving adjectives do not contain a verb form in the simple present. Ferguson, interestingly, points out that both ভাল *good* and ঠিক *correct* can be used with আছে to convey a meaning which is different from the zero verb copulative use, ie

1.4.19 with আছ- সে ভাল আছে। He is well (in good health).

1.4.20 with zero copula সে ভাল। He is good (in character).

1.4.21 with আছ- . তা ঠিক আছে। That's all right.

1.4.22 with zero copula তা ঠিক। That's correct.

Ferguson says 'Apparently no other non-participial adjectives are used with আছে (p 89). This is not quite true as there are a number of adjectival subject - complement structures where আছে can, but does not have to, be added. Bykova gives

1.4.23 এখানে চায়ের সমস্ত প্রস্তুত আছে। Everything is ready for tea here. (Bykova, p 132)

The following examples (and translations) are from Sabieski, p 441:

- 1.4.24 আজ ঠান্ডা (আছে)। *It's cold today.*
 1.4.25 আজ শীত (আছে)। *It's cold today.*
 1.4.26 তার অর্থ জানা আবশ্যক (আছে)। *It is necessary to know the meaning of it.*
 1.4.27 ওর বক্তব্য বেশি (আছে)। *The gist of what he says is important.*

A more accurate translation of this last sentence may be *He has a lot that's worth saying.*

Comparable to these, and probably more common, are (my examples):

- 1.4.28 উনি খুব ব্যস্ত (আছেন)। *He is very busy.*
 1.4.29 মা এখন সন্তুষ্ট (আছে)। *Mother is satisfied now.*
 1.4.30 বাচ্চারা খুশি (আছে)। *The children are happy.*
 1.4.31 তোমার নাস্তা তৈরি (আছে)। *Your breakfast is ready.*

Mukherji (chapter XIII, p 7) points to a difference in meaning between

- 1.4.28 দজ্জাটা বন্ধ। *The door is shut,* and
 1.4.29 দজ্জাটা বন্ধ আছে। *The door is shut (not open).*

Though there may be a difference in stress between these two, neither they nor Sableski's sentences are comparable to the above examples with ভাল and ঠিক, where the combinations with or without আছে have completely different meanings.

1.5 following an infinitive

আছে- can follow the infinitive of another verb to denote 'that it is permitted by law, religion or custom to do the act expressed by the main verb' (Milne), eg

- 1.5.1 হিন্দুদিগকে বিধবা বিবাহ করিতে নাই, কিন্তু খ্রীষ্টানদিগকে বিধবা বিবাহ করিতে আছে।
Widow marriage is forbidden to Hindus but permitted to Christians.
 1.5.2 বিনা সম্বলে পথ চলতে নাই।
It is not proper to begin a journey without provisions. (Milne, p 190)
 1.5.3 না বলতে নেই। *You must not say no. (Milne, p 216)*

Smith has

- 1.5.4 এখানে কি যেতে আছে? *Is it permitted to go there?*
 1.5.5 অবিবাহিত মেয়েদের ডিম খেতে নেই। *Unmarried girls shouldn't eat eggs.*
 (Smith, p 148)

(Where does he get these example sentences from?!) Milne's use of the nominative বিধবা (1.5.1.) is questionable. In all other examples the logical subject, where it isn't omitted, is in the genitive which has to be the correct form in an impersonal construction like this.

1.6 with modal and other abstract nouns

আছে- is used in sentences 'in which the subject noun has some kind of modal force' (Ferguson, p 86), eg

- 1.6.1 তাকে আমাদের দরকার আছে। *We need him.*
 1.6.2 তার লেখাপড়া অনুরাগ আছে। *He is fond of studying.*

1.6.3 তার ধর্ম শ্রদ্ধা নেই।

He has no respect for religion. (all Ferguson, p 86)

1.6.4 সুকুমারের বাবার রিটায়ার করার কথা ছিল।

Sukumar's father was supposed to retire. (Smith, p 127)

In fact, আছ- can be used with any number of abstract nouns, with or without modal force. The logical subject of the sentence is in the genitive. Most of the following examples could also be classified under the existential use of আছ-, ie আমার সন্দেহ আছে। *I have doubts*, is syntactically the same as আমার সাইকেল আছে। *I have a bicycle*, but I think that because of their semantic homogeneity these uses with abstract nouns should be in a class of their own. Examples are:

1.6.5 তার কথায় ও তার কাজে ঢের তফাত আছে।

There is a big difference between what he says and what he does. (Ferguson, p 85)

1.6.6 তোমার বিরুদ্ধে আমার অভিযোগ আছে। *I have a complaint against you.* (Smith, p 85)

1.6.7 ভাল শিক্ষক ও ভাল পিতা হওয়ার মাঝে প্রবল একটা মিল আছে।

There are a lot of similarities between being a good teacher and being a good father.

(Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 90)

1.6.8 দুঃ সময়ে যাপিত জীবনেরও বিশাল এক অর্থ আছে।

The bad times spent have a huge significance in one's life. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 92)

1.6.9 রেগে যাওয়ার একটি কারণ আছে।

There is a reason to get angry. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 93)

1.6.10 বোঝবার ইচ্ছে আছে।

I should like to understand. (Bykova, p 102)

1.6.11 বোঝার উপায় ছিল না একটাও।

There was no way to understand it. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 114)

1.6.12 কোনও অসুবিধা নেই।

No problem! (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 93)

Other abstract nouns which can be used in similar structures are:

সাহস *courage*, ভয় *fear*, অধিকার *right*, সময় *time*, অভ্যাস *habit*, সুযোগ *chance, opportunity*, কায়দা *system*, খবর *news*, দায়িত্ব *responsibility*, উদ্দেশ্য *purpose*, পার্থক্য *difference*, মুশকিল *problem*, শক্তি *strength*, ক্ষমতা *power, influence*, সীমা *limit*, আপত্তি *objection*, সম্ভবনা *possibility*, নিয়ম *rule, system*, ব্যবস্থা *arrangement* etc. The list is open-ended.

1.7 omission of আছ-

It is difficult to pin down rules for the possible omission of আছ-, which, in any case, is restricted to affirmative present tense sentences. Looking at the above sentences with modal and other abstract nouns আছ- can be omitted in 1.6.1. তাকে আমাদের দরকার। *We need him*, 1.6.4. if transposed into the present tense তার রিটায়ার করার কথা। *He is supposed to retire*, 1.6.6. তোমার বিরুদ্ধে আমার অভিযোগ। *I have a complaint against you*. Similarly, sentences can be constructed with other abstract nouns, eg তার আসার সম্ভবনা। *He may come*, তাদের মধ্যে অনেক পার্থক্য। *There is a big difference between them*, বাচ্চাদের জন্যে আমার দায়িত্ব। *I am responsible for the children*, etc. The sentence order in

1.7.1a) ডেঞ্জারাস ব্যাপারগুলোর সাথেই মনির হওয়া দরকার পরিচয়।

Moni needs to become acquainted with dangerous things.

(Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 105) is unusual.

From the more normal version

1.7.1b) ডেঞ্জারাস ব্যাপারগুলোর সাথেই মনির পরিচয় হওয়া দরকার।

it is clear that this is a sentence of the type discussed in 1.6, with *আছে* omitted after *দরকার* *need*.

Sentences like 1.6.7 to 1.6.9, on the other hand, sound wrong without *আছে*. Presumably the presence of the definite determiners *এক* and *একটি* effects the need for a sentence-final verb form. If we compare

1.6.7 ভাল শিক্ষক ও ভাল পিতা হওয়ার মাঝে প্রবল একটা মিল আছে।

There are a lot of similarities between being a good teacher and being a good father. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 90) with

1.7.2 তোমার সাথে আমার ছোট বোনের চেহারা খুব মিল।

You look a lot like my younger sister. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 100)

we see that the difference between the two sentences is the presence of the definite determiner *একটা* in 1.6.7 and its absence in 1.7.2. However, in looking at examples of this type we have to be aware of a certain amount of arbitrariness and the author's individual preferences as determining factors. *আছে* can undoubtedly be added in sentence 1.7.2, though I am less sure about its omission in 1.6.7. The deciding criterion in this seems to be the native speakers' intuition, which is, as Sableski's analysis shows, not a reliable basis for postulating grammatical rules.

The situation is different for existential/ possessive/ locative structures. Ferguson holds that *আছে* can be omitted in locative sentences with definite subjects only, eg *বইটা টেবিলের উপরে।* *The book is on the table,* *মেয়েরা বাড়িতে।* *The girls are at home* etc. The same goes for existential/ possessive structures, ie *আছে* can be dropped only when a definite subject is given, eg *আমার দুটা মেয়ে।* *I have two daughters,* but in *আমার মেয়ে আছে।* *I have a daughter,* *আছে* cannot be omitted.

More research ought to be done in this area on a much more substantial body of material and with a greater number of native speaker informants, but judging from my own experience and articles like Julia Sableski's it seems unlikely that definitive rules can be found. Milne has a wonderfully telling statement, made in a different context: 'It may be noted here that Bengali *grammarians* [my italics] usually pay more attention to the logical meaning than to the form of the words'. (p 299) There is nothing wrong with putting logic above grammar, but it would be a sorry state of affairs for learners and scholars alike if grammarians did not pay attention to the 'form of the words'!

2. uses of the zero-verb

Why talk about a zero verb? Bykova makes no mention of it in her discussion on copulative sentences. Smith says 'In equational sentences no verb is usually employed. It is also usually omitted in sentences containing a locative adverb' (p 99). Brother James puts the same concept into slightly different words: 'The verb *to be* is often omitted where it is understood (present tense) - unless there is only the subject and predicate or when *to be* is emphasized' (p 19) Similarly MacLeod: 'In Bengali, when the copula is

in the present tense, it is omitted' (p 24) And, finally, my own inadequate statement in *Essential Everyday Bengali*: 'In the present tense the verb can be omitted because it is understood' (p 26).

The reason for postulating a zero verb as a grammatical element in Bengali is precisely that it does not represent an omission of anything. Ferguson puts the case very succinctly to distinguish the zero verb from an omission of *আছে* :

- 1) no verb can be supplied to replace it in the normal verb position without a change in basic meaning,
- 2) it is negated by the negative copula *ন-*, and
- 3) it is invariably present tense or tenseless in meaning. (p 93)

The distinction between sentences with a zero verb and sentences where *আছে* has been omitted is crucial for the understanding of these structures, ie the zero verb represents a positive presence in present tense and tenseless sentences, not an absence or omission of anything. Negation of the zero verb is provided by the forms of the incomplete copula *ন-* (the Samsad dictionary gives only the sadhu bhasa form *নহা*) which has only present tense forms (*নই, নও, নয়, নন*) and no non-finite verb forms. In colloquial speech the invariable *না* is often used instead of the *ন-* forms. Ferguson says on the use of the two forms: 'The only observation which seems certain is that the use of *না* is less frequent than that of *ন-*, which seems to be the unmarked or 'normal' negative copula' (p 97). Brother James does not share this view: 'Although *ন-* is used in writing at times, the second form is always used in colloquial Bengali' (p 21). This divergence of opinions may be due to a difference in usage between West Bengal and Bangladesh. Ferguson refers to a conditional participle *নইলে* *otherwise, if not*, which is used as an alternative to, but perhaps not as common as, *না হলে*. In tenses other than the simple present, in conditional sentences and for all other non-finite uses, forms of *হওয়া* and, for the simple past, the past tense forms of *আছে* are used. (see also under 5.)

2.1 copulative uses (equational)

The zero verb has a number of copulative uses, ie in subject - complement structures which have the following range (all examples from Ferguson)

noun - noun	2.1.1	লোকটি কেরানি।	<i>The man is a clerk.</i>
noun - adjective	2.1.2	লোকটি ধনী।	<i>The man is rich.</i>
	2.1.3	সে বাঙালি।	<i>He is Bengali.</i>
	2.1.4	গাছটা ছোট।	<i>The tree is small.</i>
pronoun - noun	2.1.5	এরা আমার মেয়ে।	<i>These are my daughters.</i>
	2.1.6	আমরা দশজন।	<i>There are ten of us.</i>
'definition'	2.1.7	গাছ গাছ।	<i>A tree is a tree.</i>
'equation'	2.1.8	আজ বুধবার।	<i>Today is Wednesday.</i>

All of these sentences are simple one-to-one equations. The distribution of definite/ indefinite subjects and complements in the following diagram shows only a logical rather than a grammatical distinction. A definite statement about an indefinite subject (**A tree is my favourite.* *গাছ আমার প্রিয়।) is illogical and therefore grammatically unacceptable. All other combinations are possible.

subject	complement	
definite	definite	এরা আমার মেয়ে। <i>These are my daughters.</i>
definite	indefinite	লোকটি ধনী। <i>The man is rich.</i>
indefinite	indefinite	গাছ সুন্দর। <i>Trees are beautiful.</i>
indefinite	definite	----

This is comparable to the position of definite and indefinite subjects in locative sentences (see sentences 1.3.7 and 1.3.8, p 9).

Sentences of this type can be extended by adverbs, adverbial or postpositional phrases, eg

noun - noun	2.1.9	দাদু অনেক বছর আগে থেকে আমাদের দারোয়ান। <i>The old man has been our guard for many years.</i>
noun - adjective	2.1.10	কলকাতা শহরটা মেয়েদের পক্ষে বিপজ্জনক। <i>The city of Kolkata is dangerous for girls. (Smith, p 47)</i>
	2.1.11	অপমানের চেয়ে বরং মৃত্যু ভাল। <i>Rather death than dishonour. (Milne, p 340)</i>
pronoun - noun	2.1.12	আমি ও তিনি দুইজনে ভারি শত্রু। <i>He and I are deadly enemies. (Milne, p 342)</i>
pronoun - adjective	2.1.13	এটা একেবারে পঁচা। <i>This is completely rotten.</i> (Brother James, p 144)
	2.1.14	এটা আমার পক্ষে খুব কঠিন। <i>This is very difficult for me. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 124)</i>
'definition'	2.1.15	বটগাছ এদেশে সবচেয়ে বড় গাছ। <i>The banyan tree is the biggest tree in this country.</i> (Brother James, p 123)
	2.1.16	ভূমিচর পশুর মধ্যে হাতি সর্বাপেক্ষা বৃহৎ। <i>Elephants are the largest of all land animals. (Milne, p 112)</i>
'equation'	2.1.17	গান গাওয়া আমার সবচেয়ে বড় আনন্দ। <i>Singing is my greatest pleasure. (Brother James, p 11)</i>

The zero copula is used in interrogatives with question words (my examples) like

2.1.18	এটা কি?	<i>What is this?</i>
2.1.19	ও কে?	<i>Who is this?</i>
2.1.20	তোমার নাম কি?	<i>What is your name?</i>
2.1.21	তোমার বয়স কত?	<i>How old are you?</i>
2.1.22	দাম কত?	<i>How much (what price) is it?</i>

In looking at these sentences - not mentioned by Ferguson- it becomes a bit clearer how Sableski's informants could have ended up with such contradictory statements. তোমার বয়স কত? *How old are you?* is an example for zero verb, but sentences like তোমার মা কেমন? *How is your mother?*, or তোমার

গাড়ি কোথায়? *Where is your car?* which syntactically look very similar are, in fact, examples for omission of *আছে*. A possible way to establish the difference between these two types of sentences is to put them in the negative, where omission of *আছে* would yield *নেই* whereas zero verb sentences would take a form of the negative copula *ন*-. But this can only be done with statements, not with questions such as the above.

There is, however, a semantic consideration. The question word *কেমন* *how* has two distinctive uses. It is often added at the end of a sentence to express not a question but a suggestion, eg *আমরা একসঙ্গে গেলে কেমন?* *How about going together?* This looks like a zero verb use, but is, in fact, more likely to be an elliptical use with *হওয়া*, ie *একসঙ্গে গেলে কেমন হত?*

In *তোমার মা কেমন?* *How is your mother?*, on the other hand, the expected answer is *ভাল* *well* or a variation thereof and as we have seen under 1.4. *ভাল* can be used with *আছে* when it expresses physical well-being as opposed to character qualities or moral values (which require the zero verb), eg sentence 2.1.11. It seems at least likely that this is the reason for the presence of *আছে* (whether overt or not) in this use of *কেমন*. These examples show how easy it is to misinterpret sentences without overt verb forms.

The case of *কোথায়* in *তোমার গাড়ি কোথায়?* is less complicated as there is always an underlying *আছে* in verbless sentences with locative adverbs, including question words like *কোথায়*, *কোন জায়গায়* etc (see Smith p 99)

2.2 copulative uses (possessive and with postpositional phrases)

As we have seen in 1.3, the English possessive *I have a brother/ a photo/ doubts*, is expressed through existential structures in Bengali, eg

2.2.1 আমার ভাই/ ছবি/ সন্দেহ আছে।

A predicative possessive as in English *The book is mine*, is in Bengali *বইটি আমার* with zero verb. Bengali possessive attributive adjectives (English: *my*) and predicative pronouns (English: *mine*) have the same form.

In Sableski's article there was some confusion between existential and equational structures. The difference between them can be seen clearly here.

- Existential sentences (with *আছে* as in 2.2.1) make statements about single entities, be they objects (*ছবি photo*), people (*ভাই brother*) or abstract concepts (*সন্দেহ doubt*). This can range from stating existence, eg sentence 1.3.3 *পাপ ও পুন্য আছে।* *Evil and virtue exist* to positioning in place or time, eg sentences 1.2.6 *শনিবারে তোমরা কোথায় ছিলে?* *Where were you on Saturday?* or *কালকে হরতাল।* *There is a strike tomorrow.*
- In equational, or copulative, sentences (with zero verb) two entities are set in relation to one another, for instance in saying that 'A is B' (as in sentences 2.1.1 to 2.1.22) or that A is (in whatever way) related to B, as in sentences 2.2.2ff. This relationship can, in some cases, be easily defined, eg in *বইটি আমার।* *The book is mine* or in *এটা আমার বই।* (zero verb) *This is my book* we have more truly an expression of ownership than in any sentence with *আছে*. In sentences 2.2.8 to

2.2.10 (with postpositional phrases) the precise semantic relationship between A and B may be more complicated, but the element of linking two entities remains.

In offsetting these two sentence types against one another and comparing their structures, a convincing case can be made for the zero verb as the true copula in Bengali. Ferguson's examples for copulative uses of *আছে* are a farrago of different structures ranging from locative uses, eg

1.4.2 টেবিলে বইটা রাখা আছে। *The book is lying on the table.* (p 88)

to participial structures like ছেলেটি বসে আছে। *The boy is sitting down.*, which has no equational element in it. His examples with ভাল and ঠিক (sentences 1.4.19 and 1.4.21) are convincing examples of *আছে* functioning as a copula, but I think they should be considered lexical exceptions, not a means of creating new grammatical categories for the possible uses of *আছে*.

Zero verb equational structures occur in interrogative sentences, eg

of the A <u>is</u> B type	2.2.2	এটা কি?	<i>What's this?</i>
	2.2.3.	উনি কে?	<i>Who is he?</i>
	2.2.4	শব্দটা মানে কি?	<i>What does this word mean?</i>
of the A is <u>related to</u> B type	2.2.5	চাবিটা কার?	<i>Whose key is this?</i>
	2.2.6	কোনটা আপনার?	<i>Which one is yours?</i>
	2.2.7	টিকিটটা কি তোমার?	<i>Is the ticket yours?</i>

Postpositional phrases are also used without a verb form in the present tense:

- 2.2.8 এটা তোমার জন্যে। *This is for you.* (Brother James, p 19)
- 2.2.9 এটা তাদের দুজনের মধ্যে।
That's between the two of them. (Milne, p 255)
- 2.2.10 প্রেম, ভালবাসা এসব আমার জন্য নয়।
Love, affection, all this is not for me. (Smith, p 79)

It could be argued that these are, in a way, elliptical sentences, eg sentence 2.2.8 may be short for

2.2.8 a) এটা তোমার জন্যে এনেছি। *I brought this for you.*

but since all these sentences can be negated with the negative copula *ন-* (as in 2.2.10) they should be accepted as zero verb structures. Surprisingly, Ferguson does not mention either of these uses.

2.3 with modal adjectives

Ferguson says 'The zero copula is regularly used with a verbal noun in -a as subject and an adjective of modal value as complement.' (p 94) The example he gives is with the much-laboured উচিত expressing moral obligation or *ought*. The range of possible adjectives in this structure is, however, rather wider than that. Examples are:

- 2.3.1 তোমার যাওয়া উচিত। *You ought to go.* (Ferguson, p 95)
- 2.3.2 মাতার সাবধান হওয়া উচিত।
Mothers should be careful. (Milne, p 219)
- 2.3.4 বলা সহজ, করা কঠিন।

It's easy to say but hard to do. (Brother James, p 60)

This sentence could also be classed under simple one-to-one copulative uses (as in sentences 2.1.7 and 2.1.8) but the verbal noun form and also the modal nature of the adjective complements make it suitable to be classed here.

2.3.5 বিনুকের বেশিক্ষণ জলের বাইরে বেঁচে থাকা অসম্ভব।

It is impossible for oysters to live for very long out of water.

(Klaiman, p 60)

2.3.6 রাত্রে বাইরে ঘুমানো বিপজ্জনক।

It is dangerous to sleep outdoors at night.

2.3.7 তাকে টিকা দেওয়া প্রয়োজনীয়। *It is necessary to vaccinate him.*

(oral communication)

2.3.8 এই রকম কথা বলা উপযুক্ত নয়।

Talk like that is unsuitable. (oral communication)

Other adjectives which can be used in structures like this are যোগ্য *appropriate*, *worthy*, সম্ভব *possible*, ভাল *good*, খারাপ *bad*, and probably a number of others.

2.4 with evaluative nouns

Similarly, verbal nouns as subjects occur with a rather limited number of abstract noun complements which have an evaluative, not to say an ethical, component. Ferguson does not mention this use and I am somewhat hesitant to include it here because some of the examples may be more appropriately considered to be omissions of হওয়া rather than genuine zero verb uses. They can all, however, be negated with নয়, which indicates a zero verb structure. Syntactically, these are one-to-one equational sentences comparable to sentences 2.1.1ff (লোকটি কেরানি। *the man is a clerk*) etc, (p 16), but with verbal nouns as sentence subjects which preclude the use of a procopula (see below). All examples are mine.

2.4.1 মিথ্যা কথা বলা অন্যায়।

It is wrong to tell lies.

2.4.2 এমন ব্যবহার করা পাগলামি।

Such behaviour is crazy.

2.4.3 হত্যা করা মহা পাপ।

Murder is a great sin. (Milne, p 176)

2.4.4 অন্যদের ঠকানো বেইমানি।

It is perfidious to cheat others.

2.4.5 তাকে সত্যি কথা না বলা ভীৰুতা।

It is cowardice not to tell her the truth.

2.4.6 এইরকম কথা বলা ভণ্ডামি।

To talk like this is hypocrisy.

The addition of হয় at the end of these sentences is not unimaginable but would imply a different aspectual character from what we have in these kind of prescriptive moral pronouncements, eg sentence 2.4.6 এইরকম কথা বলা ভণ্ডামি হয়। would translate as something like *To talk like this leads to* or *results in* or *constitutes* *hypocrisy*. The sentence has a dynamic, developmental component which is not felt in the original statement.

2.5 use of a pro-copula

Having claimed all along that the zero verb constitutes a positive presence in copulative sentences and cannot be replaced by other verb forms, we now come to the one exception to this. According to Ferguson, the simple present, present continuous or simple past forms of হওয়া *be, become* can, in simple one-to-one equational sentences, be inserted between the subject and the complement. This unusual position - hence the name pro-copula - is presumably the reason for Ferguson to list this use under the zero verb rather than under the uses of হওয়া. Instead of

2.5.1 ছেলেটি ছাত্র। *The boy is a student.*

there are these three possibilities with the same present tense or tenseless meaning:

2.5.2 ছেলেটি $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{হয়} \\ \text{হচ্ছে} \\ \text{হল} \end{array} \right\}$ ছাত্র।

Ferguson states that the pro-copula 'may indicate emphasis, hesitation while searching for the right word for the complement, or other stylistic variation' (p 95). He is rather vague about the cases in which the use of a pro-copula is appropriate but this is entirely understandable considering that one of Sableski's informants 'was willing to accept it in any zero copula sentence she submitted to him' (p 95) Before looking at some sentences to examine these pro-copula uses more closely, there is a question on the actual verb forms. Is the simple present tense form really used like this?

2.5.3 সুজন হচ্ছে আমার ভাই।

2.5.4 সুজন হল আমার ভাই। *Sujon is my brother.*

both sound acceptable, but

2.5.5 সুজন হয় আমার ভাই।

though perhaps not expressly wrong is certainly a lot less common than either of the other two variants, at least in this position.

2.5.6 সুজন আমার ভাই হয়।

is perfectly acceptable and constitutes a special use of হওয়া in defining family or other relationships, eg

2.5.7 সে তোমার কি হয়? lit: *What is he of you?*

is regularly used to enquire after familial relationships, ie *How is he related to you?* But as a pro-copula it is questionable. Interestingly, Ferguson postulates the three tenses as being able to provide pro-copulas, but in the course of his discussion the simple present tense form is quietly dropped and the choice remains between present continuous and simple past only. A pro-copula is, according to Ferguson, more likely in cases where the complement is a noun, less likely when it is an adjective, eg

2.1.1(procop) লোকটি হল কেরানি। *The man is a clerk.*

is more likely than

2.1.2 (procop) লোকটি হল ধনী। *The man is rich.*

But we also find the following

pronoun - adjective	2.5.8	এরা হচ্ছে চালাক।	<i>They're clever.</i>
	2.5.9	এরা হচ্ছে খুব বোকা।	<i>They're very stupid.</i> (TYB, p 154)

In these sentences we get a clearer impression of the semantic range of a pro-copula. The element of emphasis as well as 'hesitation' is present in this kind of story-telling mode. The term 'hesitation' is not really appropriate here; what the story teller does is to deliberately draw out the sentence, undoubtedly adding a pause after the pro-copula, in order to establish an element of expectation or suspense.

If we look again at the sentences in 2.1 some guidelines may be established. Keeping in mind Sableski's all-including informant, the point here is to find the examples where a pro-copula is likely to occur rather than ruling out its possible occurrence in other sentences.

In simple one-to one equations (sentences 2.1.1 to 2.1.8) the most likely occurrence of a pro-copula would be in sentences like

noun -noun	2.1.1 (procop)	লোকটি হল কেরানি।	<i>The man is a clerk.</i>
'definition'	2.1.7 (procop)	গাছ হল গাছ।	<i>A tree is a tree.</i>
'equation'	2.1.8 (procop)	আজ হল বুধবার।	<i>Today is Wednesday.</i>

It is possible but less likely in:

pronoun - noun	2.1.5 (procop)	এরা হল আমার মেয়ে।	<i>These are my daughters.</i>
noun - adjective	2.1.3 (procop)	সে হচ্ছে বাঙালি।	<i>He is Bengali.</i>

This is perhaps an indication that বাঙালি should be considered a noun here - it is certainly much more acceptable than any of the following

noun - adjective	2.1.2 (procop)	?লোকটি হচ্ছে ধনী।	<i>The man is rich.</i>
noun - adjective	2.1.4 (procop)	?গাছটা হল ছোট।	<i>The tree is small.</i>

2.1.6 (procop)	? আমরা হচ্ছি দশজন।	<i>There are ten of us</i>
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This is relatively straightforward, though at least partly based on language intuition. In more complex sentences (2.1.9 to 2.1.17) a pro-copula is most likely to occur in defining sentences, eg

'definition'	2.1.15 (procop)	বটগাছ হচ্ছে এদেশে সবচেয়ে বড় গাছ।	<i>The banian tree is the biggest tree in this country.</i>
			(Brother James, p 123)

2.1.16 (procop)	ভূমিচর পশুর মধ্যে হাতি হচ্ছে সর্বাপেক্ষা বৃহৎ।	<i>Elephants are the largest of all land animals.</i>
		(Milne, p 112)

'equation'	2.1.17 (procop)	গান গাওয়া হল আমার সবচেয়ে বড় অনন্দ।	<i>Singing is my greatest pleasure.</i> (Brother James, p 11)
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The following sentence is equational but with a different word order. The postpositional phrase অনেক বছর আগে থেকে *for many years* between subject and complement makes the use of a pro-copula less likely than in the above sentences and creates the dilemma of positioning the pro-copula either before or after the postpositional phrase. Neither solution is very satisfactory.

noun - noun 2.1.9 (procop 1) ? দাদু হচ্ছে অনেক বছর আগে থেকে আমাদের দারোয়ান। or

2.1.9 (procop 2) ? দাদু অনেক বছর আগে থেকে হচ্ছে আমাদের দারোয়ান।

The old man has been our guard for many years.

This suggests that a pro-copula is most appropriately used in sentences where it can be inserted directly between the subject and the complement/ predicate.

Sentence 2.1.12 is a pronoun - noun structure without postpositional phrase interference and should therefore be at least as acceptable as 2.1.9, but the pro-copula versions sound dubious to me:

present continuous আমি ও তিনি দুইজনে হচ্ছে ভারি শত্রু।

simple past আমি ও তিনি দুইজনে হলাম ভারি শত্রু।

The first person present continuous form হচ্ছে (as also in sentence 2.1.6 above) is, in fact, quite rare (the same goes for the second person familiar হচ্ছে). It can be used in sentences like আমি জয়ী হচ্ছে। *I am winning*, but its sentence-medial position in 2.1.12 sounds unusual. The simple past pro-copula caused me some problems as I felt that it conveyed a past tense meaning. I have since been corrected on this point and accept that a past tense pro-copula with first and second person subjects does indeed exist and has no past tense meaning. My puzzlement on this point is perhaps an indication that pro-copula uses in these types of sentences are very rare. Logically, of course, there is little need for definitional sentences with first or second person subjects. The fundamental difference in meaning between tense-neutral pro-copula and normal tense-related uses lies entirely in the positioning of the হওয়া form, eg

2.5.10 a) এখান হচ্ছে সন্ধ্যা। *It is now evening.*

2.5.10 b) এখন সন্ধ্যা হচ্ছে। *It is now becoming evening.*

Equally 2.5.11 a) আমরা হলাম বন্ধু। *We are friends.*

2.5.11 b) আমরা বন্ধু হলাম। *We became friends.*

The remaining sentences 2.1.10, 11, 13 and 14 all have adjectival complements, and though the use of a pro-copula is not, strictly speaking, wrong, eg

2.1.11(procop) ?অপমানের চেয়ে বরং মৃত্যু হল ভাল।

Rather death than dishonour. (Milne, p 340)

the sentences, all other things being equal, sound much more idiomatic without it.

A pro-copula cannot be used in interrogative sentences (2.1.18 to 22). Negation of pro-copula structures is the same as for zero verb sentences, namely a form of the negative copula ন-. This is a further justification for classifying this structure here rather than under uses of হওয়া .

And, after all this searching and deliberation, we come across a sentence like:

2.5.12 এষ্টার ওর নাম হচ্ছে।

Her name is Esther. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 102)

The verb form হচ্ছে, which shouldn't be there at all, is in the wrong place but in the right tense to be considered a pro-copula. In order not to admit defeat, we can only declare this sentence to be an example for the triumph of living language over grammatical rules!

3. uses of হওয়া

হওয়া is what Ferguson calls a 'high-frequency, basic' verb in Bengali which has a variety of uses and meanings and can function as a copula in sentences where the complement is either a noun or an adjective.

Ferguson separates the uses of হওয়া into absolute, copulative and auxiliary uses. Instances of absolute uses are 'happen, turn out and modal values' (p 97). This includes passive structures, ie হওয়া with verbal nouns as subjects, eg আমার যাওয়া হবে না। lit: *My going will not happen*, ie *I won't go*, and also হওয়া following the infinitive of another verb to express obligation. Copulative uses include meanings of *becoming*, eg

3.1.1 চাষা বুড়ো হল। *The farmer became old.* (Ferguson, p 101)

I am having the same difficulty here as I had with sentences 1.4.2 and 1.4.3 (p 10) to understand Ferguson's criteria for separating absolute from copulative uses. If

3.1.2 শেয়ালের খুব দুঃখ হল। *The jackal grew very sad.* (Ferguson, p 99)

is an absolute use of হওয়া describing a change of state, how can sentence 3.1.1 be seen as anything different? In sentence 3.1.1 we have a nominative subject with an adjective complement, whereas in 3.1.2 the logical subject is in the genitive and the complement-cum-grammatical subject is a noun. This constitutes a purely syntactical variation, but in both sentences we have the same semantic component of change or *becoming* and I see no reason not to class these sentences together.

3.1 basic uses

হওয়া is an intransitive verb which has a dynamic dimension as one of its main semantic features. In the following sentences it can mean *happen, take place, turn out*. Examples are:

with the meaning *happen*

3.1.3 কি হল? কি হয়েছে? *What happened?* (Ferguson, p 98)

3.1.4 তেমন হয় নি ... *This didn't happen...*

(Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 91)

It can take a genitive complement, eg

3.1.5 তোমার কি হয়েছে? *What happened to you?* (Ferguson, p 98)

or a locative element:

3.1.6 ওখানে কি হচ্ছে? *What is happening over there?* (Ferguson, p 98)

with the meaning *take place*

3.1.7 একটা পুরুষ আর একটা স্ত্রীলোকের মধ্যে কথা হচ্ছে।

A conversation is going on (taking place) between a man and a woman.

একটি অনুষ্ঠান হয়েছিল।

(Smith, p 86)

3.1.8 একটি অনুষ্ঠান হয়েছিল।

A function took place.

(Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 95)

with the meanings *grow, become, turn out* or describing a change of state

Both sentences 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 belong here. Also:

3.1.9 রাজা বড়ই খুশি হলেন। *The king became very happy.* (Ferguson, p 101)

3.1.10 ভাল কাগজে ফাউন্টেন পেনের লেখা বড় সুন্দর হয়।

If you write on good paper with a fountain pen it will turn out very beautiful. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 93)

3.1.11 বিরক্ত হলো মারিয়া। *Maria became angry.*

(Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 102)

3.1.12 বড় ফুফুকে দেখাতে ইচ্ছা হল। lit: *The wish to show it to her aunt 'occurred'.*

She wanted to show it to her aunt. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 104)

3.1.13 অনেক রাত হল, একটা ঘর খালি হল, শোয়ার সময় হল।

It's very late at night, a room has become empty, it's time to go to bed.

(all Smith, p 103)

All of these are regular uses of হওয়া, as mentioned by Bykova who points to the dynamic aspective properties of হওয়া which are not shared by the stative আছি- or থাকা (see p 3??). Ferguson says about হওয়া, and I agree with him: 'The notion of *becoming* in Bengali is expressed simply and regularly; it is the notion of *being*, including both existence and static identity, class inclusion, and the like, which is lexically and morphologically anomolous' (p 100) A number of the above sentences could also be used with আছি as the main verb, but their meanings would be quite different. I will come back to this in section 5.

3.2 following a verbal noun

Third person familiar forms of হওয়া in all tenses can be used following the verbal noun of any other verb to form what are essentially passive sentences in Bengali. The difference to English passive structures is that in Bengali intransitive as well as transitive verbs can be passivized, eg

3.2.1 আমার যাওয়া হবে। lit: *My going will be, ie I will go.*

3.2.2 তার সঙ্গে আমার একবার ও দেখা হয় নি।

I haven't even seen him once. (Ferguson, p 99)

Examples with transitive verbs:

3.2.3 মেয়েটিকে অ্যাম্বুলনসে হাসপাতালে পাঠানো হয়েছে।

The girl has been sent to the hospital in an ambulance. (Smith, p 143)

3.2.4 নতুন বউকে কাজ করতে বলা হয়েছিল।

The new wife had been told to work. (Smith, p 143)

3.2.5 এখানে ফোটোকপি করা হয়। *Photocopying is done here.* (Das, p 9)

In these sentences the dynamic, *becoming* component of হওয়া is no longer felt. The main purpose of this type of structure is to draw attention to the action and, with transitive verbs, away from the agent. When the agent is mentioned it is expressed in the genitive with the postposition দ্বারা *by*. Bengali passives are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

3.3 with adjectives and some abstract nouns

হওয়া is used in combinations with abstract nouns and some adjectives to form intransitive conjunct verbs. There is often, but not always, a transitive counterpart with করা *make, do*. Ferguson calls this an auxiliary use and says: 'হওয়া combines with preverbs of various kinds to constitute compound verbs' (p 101). The term 'auxiliary' is usually associated with grammatical 'categories such as tense, mood, aspect or agreement' (Trask, p 25) and loss of lexical meaning. This is not the case with হওয়া. Ferguson's term 'preverbs of various kinds' is not only vague but wrong. The lexical items preceding হওয়া (or করা) are nouns and adjectives which can be used as components in conjunct verbs but are otherwise quite independent. Semantically, হওয়া in these combinations has a passive but also a dynamic *happening* element in it, ie it retains at least part of its own lexical meaning. Consequently, some conjuncts with হওয়া can be juxtaposed not only with their transitive counterparts (with করা) but also with a stative structure formed with আছে. Since this is a regularly recurring pattern I will deal with it here rather than in section 5. Thus, we can have (with approximate translations)

3.3.1 বাবার রাগ হয়েছে। *Father became angry.*

3.3.1 a) বাবা রাগ করছে। *Father is angry.*

3.3.1 b) বাবার রাগ আছে। *Father has a volatile temper.*

with quite distinct meanings which are not easily captured by simple translation. Sentence 3.3.1a) is about present and tangible anger, which is either expressed (for instance by shouting) or suppressed and seething away under the surface. 3.3.1 b) makes a statement about the father's character, not about his present behaviour. It means, essentially, that he has a potential for anger, a volatile temperament, even if he is quite peaceful at the moment. This is a particularly interesting use of আছে-, which is usually associated very much with the here and now, cf the difference between সে কলকাতায় থাকে। *He lives in Kolkata*, but সে কলকাতায় আছে। *He is in Kolkata*., whereas in sentence 3.3.1 b) the use of আছে- removes the subject *anger* from the immediate context. Sentence 3.3.1 is semantically somewhere in between the two preceding sentences. It means that father has become angry in this specific context but may not have expressed his anger yet. If the tense in sentence 3.3.1 is changed to the simple present বাবার রাগ হয়। *Father gets angry*, its meaning comes a lot closer to the meaning in 3.3.1 b), but the basic difference remains in that the sentence with আছে deals with a characteristic, the one with হওয়া with a behavioural trait.

These semantic parameters are not automatically applicable to all conjunct verbs of this type. For instance, the two nouns শুরু *beginning* and শেষ *end* have a dynamic semantic component which corresponds with হওয়া. They are therefore unlikely to combine with stative verbs like আছে- or থাকা.

3.3.2 আর বুকের ভেতরে ওর জন্যে কষ্ট শুরু হলো।

And in her heart the grief for him started. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 100)

3.3.3 তাদের খেলা এখনও শেষ হয় নি।

Their game hasn't finished yet. (EEB, p 299)

Other conjunct verbs and their transitive (sentences a)) and/ or stative counterparts (sentences b)) are:

3.3.4 তোমার কি হাঁটতে কষ্ট হচ্ছে? *Are you having difficulty walking?*

(Klaiman, p 32)

3.3.4 a) সে তোমার জন্যে অনেক কষ্ট করেছে। *He has gone to a lot of trouble for you.*

কষ্ট does not combine with আছি-, except when it takes a locative ending সে কষ্টে আছে। *He is in difficulty.* This is not comparable to the structure with হওয়া।

3.3.5 আমার দোষ হয়েছে। *I have done wrong.* (Klaiman, p 33)

lit: *My fault has happened.*

The transitive counterpart দোষ করা is given in the dictionary but is, in my experience, very rarely used, probably because it would cause a semantic clash between admitting a wrong-doing (implicit in দোষ) on the one hand and a deliberate act on the other.

3.3.5 b) আমার দোষ আছে। can mean either *I have my faults.* or

I am to blame.

depending on the context of the sentence. In the first instance, as in the examples with রাগ above, we are dealing with a character trait which is removed from the actual context, whereas আমার দোষ আছে। *I am to blame* makes an existential statement about a particular situation.

3.3.6 তার ভয় হচ্ছে। *He is afraid.* (Klaiman, p 19)

a better translation may be *He is getting scared.*

3.3.6 a) আমি তাকে ভয় করি। *I am afraid of him.*

3.3.6 b) ?তার ভয় আছে। *He is afraid.*

This is an interesting example because even though ভয় করা is used transitively with an object, it does not, semantically, take on an active perspective. The sentence is perfectly normal, but there is a frequently occurring alternative ওর ভয় করছে। with the same meaning. Syntactically, this structure is difficult to classify - although there is an active/ transitive verb there is no subject and hence it is questionable whether or not ভয় *fear* can be considered an object. Sentences like these are, however, regularly used (see 3.3.7) and have to be considered a feature of Bengali.

The difference between sentences 3.3.6 and 3.3.6 a) is that in 3.3.6, particularly in the present continuous tense, there is a factor of fear building up. Sentence 3.3.6 a) simply makes a statement about the existence of a mental attitude. তার ভয় আছে does not, in itself, sound grammatically wrong, but it is difficult to think of a context where it would be used. ভয় করা with its unexpected semantic characteristics, takes over the slot that ভয় আছে would normally have filled (cf sentence 3.3.1 b)) and, to a certain extent, makes it redundant. The same relationship that holds between ভয় হওয়া and ভয় করা exists

with অসুখ *illness*, ie

3.3.7 তার অসুখ হয়েছে। *He has fallen ill.*

3.3.7 a) তার অসুখ করেছে। *He is ill.* (Smith, p 118)

with ইচ্ছা or ইচ্ছে *wish* as in sentence

3.3.8 (sentence 3.1.12, p 23)

বড় ফুফুকে দেখাতে ইচ্ছা হল। lit: *The wish to show it to her aunt 'occurred'.*

She wanted to show it to her aunt. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 104)

3.3.8 a) খেতে ইচ্ছা করছে না। *I don't want to eat.* (Klaiman, p 5)

ইচ্ছা হওয়া may retain a slight sense of *becoming*, ie *the wish grew* in this sentence (3.3.8), but this could be caused by the use of the simple past. In its present tense use, eg আমার সাঁতার কাটতে ইচ্ছা হয়। *I want to go swimming*, it is synonymous with ইচ্ছা করা. Milne also has

3.3.8 b) তোমার কাউন্সিলি হবার ইচ্ছা আছে। *You wish to become a barrister.*

(p 213)

This is somewhat removed from the immediate context and refers to a dormant ambition rather than to imminent arrangements.

From these few examples alone, the complex semantic relationships of these structures is apparent. It is not possible to deal with all of them here, but structurally the nouns and adjectives in question can be divided into these two groups:

1) those that can combine with হওয়া, করা and আছে, as for instance:

3.3.9 তার ভুল হয়েছে। *He made a mistake.* (implies: inadvertently)

3.3.9 a) সে ভুল করেছে। *He made a mistake.* (through carelessness)

3.3.9 b) এই বইতে ভুল আছে। *There are mistakes in this book.*

3.3.10 আমার বিশ্বাস হয়েছে। *I have come to believe.*

3.3.10 a) আমি তাকে বিশ্বাস করি। *I believe him.*

3.3.10 b) তার বিশ্বাস আছে। *He has (underlying) faith.*

3.3.11 এটা প্রমাণ হয়েছে। *This has been proved.*

3.3.11 a) সে সব প্রমাণ করতে পারে। *He can prove everything.*

3.3.11 b) তাদের প্রমাণ নেই। *They have no proof.*

3.3.12 তার লাভ হয়েছে। *He made a profit.* (implies: profit came his way)

3.3.12 a) সে অনেক লাভ করতে পারবে। *He will be able to (actively) make a big profit.*

3.3.12 b) এতে কি লাভ আছে? *What is the advantage in this?*

This is used in a non-material sense.

with adjectives

3.3.13 সব ঠিক হয়েছে। *Everything has come right.*

(implies: a previous problem has sorted itself out)

3.3.13 a) আমি সেটা ঠিক করব। *I will fix / mend it.*

- 3.3.13 b) সব ঠিক আছে। *Everything is fine. (stative use)*
- 3.3.14 দোকানটা বন্ধ হয়েছে। *The shop has closed down.*
- 3.3.14 a) দরজাটা বন্ধ কর। *Close the door! (active use)*
- 3.3.14 b) দরজাটা বন্ধ আছে। *The door is shut. (permanently?)*

2) those that can take হওয়া and করা, but not আছে, eg

- 3.3.15 তার বই প্রকাশ হয়েছে। *His book has been published.*
- 3.3.15 a) সে কিছু প্রকাশ করে নি। *He didn't reveal anything. (active use)*
- 3.3.16 তোমার কোনটা পছন্দ হয়েছে? *Which one did you like?*
- 3.3.16 a) আমি দুটাই পছন্দ করেছি। *I chose both of them.*

There are, of course, many more examples like these which deserve a closer analysis and could make for an interesting research subject, but this is not the place to deal with them.

3.4 with মনে heart, mind

This structure is closely linked to those described in the previous section, but since মনে is in the locative its compound with হওয়া cannot be considered a conjunct verb. মনে, like many of the conjunct verbs discussed, can combine with হওয়া, করা or আছে- and has these basic meanings:

- 3.4.1 আমার মনে হয় ... *I think, lit: it is / occurs in my mind*
- 3.4.2 তুমি কি মনে কর? *What do you think?*

The difference between the two structures is that মনে করা involves a more active and deliberate thought process than মনে হওয়া. মনে হওয়া is unlikely to be used in questions such as 3.4.1 a) * তোমার কি মনে হয়? It is also not used in the future tense, but is used in all other tenses, eg

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| past habitual | 3.4.3 প্রথম প্রথম মনে হতো ...
<i>At the beginning he thought...</i> (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 107) |
| present continuous | 3.4.4 জ্বর রয়েছে মনে হচ্ছে। <i>I think he has a fever.</i> (Smith, p 104) |
| | 3.4.5 মনে হচ্ছে ও দূরে কোথাও হারিয়ে গেছে।
<i>She is thinking that she has got lost somewhere far away.</i>
(Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 102) |
| conditional participle | 3.4.6 অবিশ্বাস্য মনে হলেও মিথ্যা নয়।
<i>Even if it seems unbelievable, it's not a lie.</i> (Smith, p 116) |
| infinitive | 3.4.7 সে - প্রয়াসও হাস্যকর মনে হতে পারে।
<i>Even that attempt can be considered ridiculous.</i> (Smith, p 116) |

মনে করা in the future tense, eg

- 3.4.8 সে কি মনে করবে? *What will he think?*

is perfectly acceptable. In negative sentences it is used with the meaning *mind, object*, eg

- 3.4.9 আমি কিছু মনে করব না। *I won't mind at all.*

মনে is also used with আছি- (and consequently with থাকি). Smith has

3.4.10 কার মনে কি আছে আমি কেমন করে জানব?

lit: what is in someone's mind

How should I know what someone is thinking? (Smith, p 116)

but both আছি- and থাকি with মনে also refer to memory, eg

3.4.11 কখন ঘুমিয়ে পড়েছিলাম মনে নেই।

I don't remember when I had fallen asleep. (Smith, p 116)

3.4.12 তার কিছু মনে থাকে না।

lit: Nothing stays in his mind, ie *He forgets everything.*

These two sentences show clearly the habitual aspective qualities of থাকি (3.4.12) as opposed to আছি- or নেই which refer to simple present tense occurrence.

3.4.13 পুরো নাম মনে নেই।

She couldn't remember his full name. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 95)

and in the simple past

3.4.14 আমি দুঃখিত, মনে ছিল না। *I'm sorry, I forgot.*

3.5 expressing *must*, *obligation*

This structure was discussed, under the infinitive aspect, in the chapter on non-finite verb forms,. In this section I want to concentrate on the role of হওয়া, particularly in comparison with the use of আছি- following an infinitive, expressing permission.

Sentences expressing obligation with the use of হওয়া are structured like this:

subject in the object		হওয়া
or genitive case	+	infinitive of verb
(can be omitted)		+ 3rd person ending
		in any tense
eg	আমাকে যেতে হবে।	<i>I will have to go.</i>

The structure can be used in any tense, but the future tense, often with present tense reference, is particularly common, eg

3.5.1. তোমার কিছু করতে হবে না। *You don't have to do anything.*

There are no imperative forms and non-finite uses are restricted to the conditional, eg

3.5.2 আপনার যদি যেতে হয়... and

3.5.3 আপনার যেতে হলে ... *If you have to go...*

The structure is not easy to explain. Milne attempts to draw a parallel with the Latin 'me ire necesse est' lit: *my going is needed*, ie *I need to go*, but then dismisses this by saying: 'I must admit that this theory seems to me somewhat farfetched and perhaps the best explanation is simply to say that the construction is an inexplicable idiom' (p 298). I do not see any real connection between the Bengali structure and Milne's Latin example - the presence of 'necesse' in Latin carries the meaning, whereas in Bengali the semantic value of obligation is carried by হওয়া alone. A much more comparable structure

exists, however, in English, namely in sentences like *You are not to mention this to anyone*, which has the same semantic component of *must* as the Bengali তোমাকে (or তোমার) এই কথাটা কাউকে বলতে হবে না। We can only assume that verbs of being (আছি- as well as হওয়া) in connection with infinitives develop a particular modal force. This is not entirely surprising when we find how versatile infinitives are in their modal capacities, in English as well as in Bengali. In English we have sentences expressing

purpose	<i>I went to France to study architecture.</i>
sequence	<i>He came back to find that his wife had left him.</i>
compulsion	<i>She made him finish his homework. and, of course, He had to tell you about this.</i>

In Bengali, apart from the structures with হওয়া (compulsion) and আছি- (permission), we can have

purpose	আমি বাচ্চাকে দেখতে এসেছি।	<i>I have come to see the baby.</i>
permission	আমাকে যেতে দাও।	<i>Let me go / allow me to go.</i>

This is moving away from semantic properties of হওয়া, but it shows that the modal potential in these sentences comes from the combined force of the two verbs taken together, not from either one of them.

3.6 lexicalised derivations of হওয়া

This section is nothing more than a list of lexical items which are derived from হওয়া but have gained an independent lexical status even though most of them retain some of their original verbal character. Ferguson calls these 'marginal uses of হওয়া'. I think that the more neutral term 'lexical' is more appropriate.

বোধ হয় *maybe, perhaps*

- 3.6.1 বোধ হয় শিখর দেশ হইতে পতিত হইয়া থাকিবে।
I think it may have fallen from the peak. (Milne, p 167)

হয়তো *maybe, perhaps* This is interchangeable with and marginally more colloquial than বোধ হয়

- 3.6.2 সে হয়তো তোমার সঙ্গে যাবে। *She may go with you. (EEB, p 249)*

হতে পারে *possibly* This is very idiomatic. It remains a verbal phrase and is probably not perceived by native speakers as anything else.

- 3.6.3 হতে পারে নাও হতে পারে। *Maybe, maybe not.*

হয় - না হয় *either- or* used as a conjunction, but still with a verbal character. The two parts of the sentence have to be syntactically matched, ie it is not possible to say

* হয় আমি আজকে চিঠি লিখব না হয় তাকে কালকে টেলিফোন করতে পারব।

?Either I will write a letter today or I can phone him tomorrow.

The English translation, if not expressly wrong, does not sound very good either.

- 3.6.4 হয় আমি আজকে চিঠি লিখব না হয় তাকে কালকে টেলিফোন করব।

- Either I will write a letter today or phone him tomorrow.*
- না হয় or This is interchangeable with, and not as frequent as, বা or না
 3.6.5 গরমের দিন আমাদের শোয়া ছিল উঠানে না-হয় বারান্দায়।
When it was hot we slept in the courtyard or on the veranda.
 (Smith, p 113)
- হইতে since, from This is used as a postposition and has all but lost its verbal connection.
 থেকে is much more common than হইতে in this use. The modern infinitive
 form হতে is not used in this way.
 3.6.6 তুমি যাওয়ার পর হইতে ও প্রতিদিন শুকিয়ে যাইতেছে।
Since your departure he is withering away more and more each day.
 (Milne, p 265)
- না হয় - না হয় neither - nor
- 3.6.7 আমার ওখানে গেলে না হয় পড়াশুনা, না হয় বেড়ানো।
If I go there I won't get either studying done or going around.
 (Ferguson, p 102)
- A better translation may be:
If I go there I will get neither studying nor visiting done.
 I think that a future tense verb form would be more appropriate in this
 sentence and I do not consider this use to be either very idiomatic or very
 common.
- তা হলে if this is so, then This is used predominantly in conditional clauses and retains its verbal
 character fully.
- 3.6.8 যদি বিশেষ কোনো ইচ্ছা থাকে তাহলে বলুন।
If you have some special wish, say it. (Smith, p 167)
- না হলে or নইলে
 if not, otherwise As তা হলে, this has its full verbal character and its function as a
 conjunction is probably not felt by Bengalis.
- 3.6.9 আমি আজকে বাসায় থাকব। না হলে আমাদের কালকে যাওয়া যাবে না।
I will stay at home today. Otherwise we will not be able to go tomorrow.
 (EEB, p 114)
- হয়ে via হয়ে as a postposition has lost its verbal characteristics.
- 3.6.10 আমরা ঢাকা হয়ে কলকাতা যাব।
We're going to Kolkata via Dhaka. (Ferguson, p 101)
- হলে ago This, like হয়ে, is also used adverbially, but with some connection to its
 verbal roots remaining, ie it can be understood as intervening time passing
 rather than referring to a point of time in the past tense. হল is used in the
 same way as আগে ago.
- 3.6.11 নীহারিকা চলে গেছেন দু বছর হল।

Niharika left two years ago. (Guha, p 142)

4. uses of থাকা

The intransitive verb থাকা has the lexical meanings *stay, live, remain, continue to be* but also includes the meanings of *being* and *having* in its suppletive uses (4.2.) Negation and all tense uses are regular, but the simple past, present perfect and past perfect tenses of থাকা are severely restricted in their use. The past tense form of আছি- tends to be used instead.

4.1 absolute uses

These are the ordinary, lexical uses of থাকা, which need no further comment. Examples are:

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 4.1.1 | আপনি কোথায় থাকেন? | <i>Where do you live?</i> |
| 4.1.2 | তুমি আর একটু থাকতে পার? | <i>Can you stay a bit longer?</i> |
| 4.1.3 | ডাক্তার সাহেব কি কালকে থাকবেন? | <i>Will the doctor be here tomorrow?</i> |
| 4.1.4 | তাদের খাওয়ার পরে আর কিছু থাকবে না। | <i>Nothing will be left (remain) after they have eaten.</i> |

4.2 suppletive uses for আছি-

থাকা supplies the tenses which are missing in the paradigm of আছি-, ie the future and habitual past tense. Since both আছি- and থাকা are stative/ continuous verbs continuous verb forms are not often used and all past tense forms except the habitual past tend to be covered by the forms of আছি- (ছিলাম, ছিলে, ছিল, ছিলেন). থাকা also supplies the missing non-finite verb forms. The relevant structures in existential/ possessive uses are

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------|--|---------------------------------|
| future tense | 4.2.1 | আমার দোকান থাকবে। | <i>I will have a shop.</i> |
| past habitual | 4.2.2 | আমার দোকান থাকত। | <i>I used to have a shop.</i> |
| conditional | | | |
| with যদি | 4.2.3 a) | আমার দোকান যদি থাকত... | <i>If I had a shop...</i> |
| with participle | 4.2.3 b) | আমার দোকান থাকলে... | <i>If I have/ had a shop...</i> |
| verbal noun | 4.2.4 | আমার দোকান থাকা পর্যন্ত... | <i>Until I have a shop...</i> |
| infinitive | 4.2.5 | তার দোকান থাকতে পারে। | <i>He may have a shop.</i> |
| perfective participle | | no examples with possessive meaning, but | |
| locative | 4.2.6 | আমি আর দুয়েক দিন বাড়িতে থেকে ঢাকা যাব। | |

I will stay at home for a few days and then go to Dhaka.

Ferguson says on the meaning of থাকা in its suppletive uses: 'In the future tense, it is not completely clear that থাকা has other than its basic lexical meaning, but in the subjunctive suppletion থাকা seems to have no trace of its lexical meaning' (Ferguson, p 103). He gives the following examples:

- 4.2.7 যার ধন থাকে তাকে বড় মানুষ বলে। *A person who has wealth is called a rich man.*

Ferguson considers this a subjunctive use where থাকা retains 'no trace of its lexical meaning', but in the following sentence its lexical meaning is present:

4.2.8 সে যদি সেখানে থাকে তাহলে তাকে বলব। *If he is there, I will tell him.*

I do not entirely agree with him on the future tense use of থাকা. Sentence 4.2.1 can be either a suppletion of আছি- which results in the translation I have given *I will have a shop*, or it can be the non-suppletive future tense of থাকা, in which case the sentence would mean *My (existing) shop will stay, remain*. The hearer's interpretation of the sentence আমার দোকান থাকবে। depends on whether or not the speaker already owns a shop and on the hearer's knowledge of this.

Ferguson's two examples are misleading because the difference between them has nothing to do with types of suppletion. If 4.2.7 (a relative clause) is a subjunctive suppletion, then surely sentence 4.2.8 (a conditional clause!) must be the same. And in both sentences থাকা retains some, though not all, of its lexical meaning. Sentence 4.2.7 is an existential/ possessive use of থাকা, যার ধন থাকে means literally *whose wealth exists*, which overlaps at least in part with the original meaning of থাকা. Equally, in sentence 4.2.8 (a locative use) the translation of the sentence is determined by the context, ie the speaker is concerned with the other person's actual presence, not the fact that he lives there (and might be out!), so this, just as sentence 4.2.7, is a clear case of suppletion for আছি-.

4.3 following an infinitive

থাকা can be used in all tenses following the infinitive of another verb to express a continuous or iterative aspect, eg

- 4.3.1 সে শুনবে না, কথা বলতে থাকবে।
He will not listen, he will keep on talking. (Brother James, p 70)
- 4.3.2 পাখীটা আর কিছুক্ষণ গাইতে থাকল।
The bird continued singing for a while longer. (Brother James, p 71)
- 4.3.3 কাল সকালে বৃষ্টি হতে থাকবে।
Tomorrow morning it will keep raining. (Brother James, p 71)
- 4.3.4 a) চা ঠাণ্ডা হতে থাকে।
The tea is getting cold.
- 4.3.5 a) ক্রমে তাঁর দেহ শক্ত হতে থাকে।
His body is gradually growing stiff. (both Smith, p 147)

One of the risks in looking for examples to verify particular structures lies in losing touch with real language use. Combinations of হতে with a form of থাকা (sentences 4.3.3 to 5) are not representative of this structure, grateful though I am for the examples. Sentence 4.3.4 a) is grammatically correct but places, syntactically, an unnecessary burden on a mere cup of tea, or on a dead body, for that matter (sentence 4.3.5 a)! A much more ordinary way of expressing the same concepts is to say

- 4.3.4 b) চা ঠাণ্ডা হয়ে যাচ্ছে। and
4.3.5 b) তাঁর দেহ শক্ত হয়ে যাচ্ছে।

This use of থাকা in the future tense (sentences 4.3.1 and 4.3.3) is sometimes seen as a future continuous tense (discussed in tenses chapter p 7f), but what is more relevant here is its separateness from আছি- (see under 1.5). আছি- can also be used with a preceding infinitive but with a very different

meaning. It is interesting to see that the morphological and consequently syntactical limitations of আছ- do not result in semantic restrictions, while a syntactically independent verb like থাকি stays within its semantic parameters.

4.4 following a perfective participle

Syntactically speaking, থাকি is used in these structures as the second component of an aspective compound verb. আছ- can be used in a very similar way (see sentences 1.4.11 to 1.4.16) but is more restricted, not only to simple present and simple past tense, but also in the range of verbs it can combine with.

Examples with থাকি and its aspective nuances:

continued active states 4.4.1 এখনও আফ্রিকার অসভ্য জাতিরা এই ঢাল ব্যবহার করে থাকে।

The uncivilized tribes of Africa still use these shields.

continued existence of a state: 4.4.2 আমি চিরকাল তোমার পথ চেয়ে বসে থাকব।

I will be waiting for you forever. (both Smith, p 156)

Smith makes the distinction between active (4.4.1) and stative (4.4.2) verbs in their combinations with থাকি but I think that the semantic properties of থাকি can effectively turn active structures into stative ones, as in sentence 4.4.1, which comes under Smith's category of 'habitual actions'. This category seems to me better represented by sentences like the following which can also have an iterative aspect:

habitual, repeated action 4.4.3 যখন চুপ করিয়া থাকি তখন তাহার কথা মনে হয়।

Whenever I remain quiet his words come to my mind.

better translated as: *Whenever I remain quiet I think of him.*

4.4.4 আমি প্রায় এই সময়ে আহার করিয়া থাকি।

I usually eat at this time. (both Milne, p 194)

This structure with থাকি is fully productive, ie it can be used with the perfective participle of any verb, active or stative, and represents an alternative to continuous tenses, eg

4.4.5 আমি ভাত খেয়ে থাকলাম। is equivalent to

4.4.6 আমি ভাত খাচ্ছিলাম। I was eating rice.

Some suggestions have been made to consider the future tense use of this structure as a future perfect tense for Bengali (discussed in the tenses chapter, p 7f), but its use throughout all Bengali tenses would make this singling out of the future tense a rather arbitrary decision.

4.5 lexicalised uses

The perfective participle থেকে has acquired a separate function as a postposition, meaning *from*. It has moved both semantically and syntactically away from its verbal equivalent, though the verbal form is also used (eg sentence 4.2.6). The use of থেকে as a postposition is discussed fully in the chapter on post-positions (p 12f). Ferguson gives থেকে as being able to follow a nominative, locative or genitive noun. A noun in the locative is the normal form preceding থেকে as a perfective participle, a preceding nominative is expected with verbally derived postpositions, but the genitive structure, used by Tagore,

সে ঘরের থেকে এসেছে।

He came from the room.

is grammatically difficult to justify.

5. COMPARISONS

This section aims to bring together the different structures and look at the way they overlap or contrast with one another. It also deals with negation in the simple present and other tenses. At the end of the section there is a list of mainly negative and past tense example sentences, some of them quite regular, others rather unusual. They need further analysis.

5.1 negation, tenses, overlapping and contrasting uses

We start with these broad assumptions which are partly based on Sableski's research. The reason for taking conditional sentences into consideration is that they require a verb form and can help to establish the otherwise not always obvious relationship between the verbs in question. The use of a procopula is not taken into account here. All verbs are given in 3rd person ordinary form.

verb				conditional sentence
present tense	present tense	past tense	past tense	affirmative and
affirmative	negative	affirmative	negative	[negative]
আছে	নেই	ছিল	ছিল না	থাকে
আমার বই আছে।	আমার বই নেই।	আমার বই ছিল।	আমার বই ছিল না।	আমার বই যদি [না] থাকে
-----	নয়	ছিল	ছিল না	হয়
ওরা ভাইবোন।	ওরা ভাইবোন নয়।	ওরা ভাইবোন ছিল।	ওরা ভাইবোন ছিল না।	ওরা ভাইবোন যদি [না] হয়
হয়	হয় না	হয়েছে, হল	হয়নি, হল না	হয়
ভাল ফসল হয়।	ভাল ফসল হয় না।	ভাল ফসল হয়েছে।	ভাল ফসল হয় নি।	ভাল ফসল যদি [না] হয়
		ভাল ফসল হল।	ভাল ফসল হল না।	
থাকে	থাকে না	থাকত	থাকে নি	থাকে
সে এখানে থাকে।	সে এখানে থাকে না।	সে এখানে থাকত।	সে এখানে থাকে নি।	সে যদি এখানে [না] থাকে

A simple table like this shows the connections between these verbs. The following observations can be made: আছ- and zero verb have the same past tense forms, আছ- and থাকা, of course, have the same conditional forms, and zero verb and হওয়া also share their conditional forms. We can conclude from this:

- A contrast exists between uses with আছ- and uses with হওয়া. The uses of থাকা are by virtue of their suppletive function, fairly firmly attached to আছ-; the zero verb 'swings both ways', with past tense forms taken from আছ-, conditional forms from হওয়া.
- nominal (with আছ-) and adjectival (with zero verb) structures

We have implicitly established that modal and other abstract nouns are used with present tense or omitted আছে (sentences in 1.6) and are consequently negated with নেই, with a few exceptions (see under 1.3.). Adjectival complements, on the other hand, are used in zero verb constructions and are negated with forms of ন-.

Typical examples for these two structures are:

- nominal

চাবিটা আমার দরকার। *I need the key.*

দরকার is a noun, আছে can be omitted and negation is

চাবিটা আমার দরকার নেই। *I don't need the key.*

- adjectival

তোমার কিছু বলা উচিত। *You ought to say something.*

উচিত is an adjective in a zero verb sentence, which means that no verb form can be supplied without a change in meaning. Negation is

তোমার কিছু বলা উচিত নয়। *You shouldn't say anything.*

- আছ- and হওয়া

In sentences which can be used with either আছ- or হওয়া (section 3.3) হওয়া has a dynamic, আছ- a stative aspectual nuance. This can occur with nouns as well as with adjectives.

- nominal

তার রাগ আছে। describes a character trait, ie *He is capable of anger.*

তার রাগ হয়েছে। describes a state of mind, ie *He became angry.*

- adjectival

সে ভাল আছে। *He is well.* সে ভাল নেই। *He is not well.*

সে ভাল হয়েছে। *He has got better.* সে ভাল হয় নি। *He hasn't got better.*

- Another facet of the difference in dynamics between হওয়া and আছ- can be seen in this sentence:

না হয় ফসল, না আছে এক ফোঁটা জল। *No crops grow and there is not a drop of water.*

(Ferguson, p 102)

হওয়া has an affinity with natural processes and phenomena, such as crops, rain, floods, which is why we have a contrast between আছ- (existential/ locative) and হওয়া (natural phenomenon) in this sentence.

- আছ- and থাকা

In sentences which can have either আছ- and থাকা the structures with আছ- result in a more immediate meaning, particularly in sentences with a locative component. Milne has the following contrasting pair of sentences, but taken out of context, their translations sound a bit arbitrary:

with আছ- বলিবার মুখ নাই। *I am ashamed to speak.*

with থাকা বলিবার মুখ থাকে না। *I cannot find an opportunity to speak.*

Here are some simpler examples:

- with আছ-

affirmative	সে কলকাতায় আছে।	<i>He is in Kolkata.</i>
negative	সে কলকাতায় নেই।	<i>He is not in Kolkata.</i>
past tense	সে কলকাতায় ছিল (না)।	<i>He was (not) in Kolkata.</i>

- with থাকা

affirmative	সে কলকাতায় থাকে।	<i>He lives in Kolkata.</i>
negative	সে কলকাতায় থাকে না।	<i>He does not live in Kolkata.</i>
past tense	সে কলকাতায় থাকত (না)।	<i>He lived (didn't live) in Kolkata.</i>

- a note on past tense forms: the verb থাকা has perfectly regular past tense forms থাকল (simple past), থেকেছে (present perfect), থেকেছিল (past perfect), but these forms are rarely used. This is caused by the strong position of ছিল (ছিলাম, ছিলে, ছিলেন) for past tense existential uses. The only form of থাকা which can withstand this appropriation is the past habitual form.

- হওয়া and zero verb

uses of হওয়া and of the zero verb can be in contrast to one another. In these cases the zero verb has purely existential semantic properties whereas the uses with হওয়া have a sense of *becoming, turning out*.

- with zero verb

affirmative	তার হাতের লেখা সুন্দর।	<i>His handwriting is beautiful.</i>
negative	তার হাতের লেখা সুন্দর নয়।	<i>His handwriting is not very nice.</i>
past tense	তার হাতের লেখা সুন্দর ছিল।	<i>His handwriting was beautiful.</i>

(this sentence implies that he is either dead or no longer capable of writing)

- with হওয়া

affirmative	তার হাতের লেখা সুন্দর হয়।	<i>His handwriting comes out beautiful.</i>
negative	তার হাতের লেখা সুন্দর হয় না।	<i>His handwriting doesn't turn out very nice.</i>
past tense	তার হাতের লেখা সুন্দর হল।	<i>His handwriting turned out beautifully.</i>
or		
	তার হাতের লেখা সুন্দর হত।	<i>His handwriting used to turned out beautifully.</i>

- Here again, the pervasive influence of ছিল is felt. তার হাতের লেখা সুন্দর হল। is grammatically correct, but has a slightly affected ring to it. The *becoming* properties of হওয়া, which are strongly felt in the present tense, become less perceptible in contexts removed from the present. In other words, the process through which someone arrives at

beautiful handwriting is no longer very relevant so ছিল and হল become almost interchangeable in this sentence. In other examples, however, the difference between them remains crucial eg

- past tense of zero verb সে তার বউ ছিল। *She was his wife.*
- past tense of হওয়া সে তার বউ হল। *She became his wife.*
- The aspective difference between the zero verb and হওয়া can result in unexpected verb forms:

আমার যাওয়া উচিত ছিল না। *I shouldn't have gone.*

This is the expected past tense negative form, but we also find:

এমন একটি জম্বা কাজ করা কিছুতেই আমার উচিত হয়নি।

I should never have done anything so horrible.

(Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 94)

Although an aspective difference must be at the bottom of this, it would take a lot of semantic imagination to define this difference precisely.

- হওয়া and থাকা in suppletion of আছ-

থাকা regularly supplies the missing forms of আছ-, but there are a number of cases where forms of হওয়া are used instead, particularly in the future tense and in conditional sentences, eg

in future tense	তোমার সময় হবে?	<i>Will you have time?</i>
	অসুবিধা হবে না তো?	<i>This won't be inconvenient, will it?</i>
	কোনও কষ্ট হবে না।	<i>There won't be a problem.</i>
with conditionals	আরও দরকার হলে বলে দাও।	<i>Tell me if you need more.</i>
	সুযোগ হলে আমাকে টেলিফোন করিও।	<i>Phone me if you get chance.</i>
	ইচ্ছা হলে যেতে পার।	<i>You can go if you want.</i>

These sentences are all with abstract nouns, but there are other abstract nouns which are used with forms of থাকা, eg

তোমার সন্দেহ থাকলে ...	<i>If you have doubts...</i>
তার আপত্তি থাকলে ...	<i>If he has objections...</i>
কোনও উপায় থাকলে	<i>If there is a way...</i>

and, of course, with all concrete nouns, থাকা remains firmly in place:

আমার টাকা থাকলে ...	<i>If I have the money...</i>	
তোমার গাড়ি / বাগান থাকবে।	<i>You will have a car/ garden ...</i>	etc

There is, as in previous examples, a developmental element in the sentences with হওয়া, eg a wish *growing*, a need *arising*, a problem *emerging*, an opportunity *forming*, but it seems to me that in the majority of these sentences the use of হওয়া is simply easy and convenient (if in doubt use হওয়া !) and it would be a mistake to go looking for deep and meaningful semantic undercurrents.

5.2 further negative and past tense examples

1. with আছ-

existential/ possessive with nouns

আমার বলবার শক্তি নেই। *I am too weak to speak.* (Milne, p 179)

আমার পরিবার কাপড় নাই। *I have no clothes to put on.* (Milne, p 179)

(genitive) verbal nouns of purpose (future directed), cf sentences 1.4.8 - 10)

ওর উপরে আমার সন্দেহ নেই। *I have no doubts about him.* (Klaiman, p 30)

with উপায়

একথা স্বীকার না করে উপায় নেই। *One cannot but agree with it.* (Bykova, p 101)

এখন শুয়ে পড়া ছাড়া উপায় নেই। *There is no recourse now save to lie down.*
(Smith, p 78)

past tense (affirmative and negative)

মিথ্যে বলার উপায় ও ছিল না। *There was no way to lie.*

(Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 93)

তাহার আসিবার ইচ্ছা ছিল। *He was inclined to come.* (Milne, p 179)

possessive

তুমি ছাড়া আমার আপন বলতে কেউ নেই।

I have no one but you to call my own. (Ferguson, p 87)

locative

তিনি তো কিছুতেই নেই। *He is indifferent.* (He is in nothing) Milne (p 219)

2. with the zero verb

fixed phrase

বড় একটা নয়। *hardly* (Milne, p 216)

with adjectives

সে আমার চেয়ে পটু নয়। *He is not cleverer than I am.* (Milne, p 218)

এটা মন্দ নয়। *This is not bad* (Das, p 9)

আমি সুস্থ নহি। *I am not well.* (Milne, p 216)

possessive

বইটি আমার নয়। *The book is not mine.*

এই তোমার কাজ নয়। *This is not for you to do.* (Milne, p 186)

past tense

সর্বশেষে বেতন ছিল চারশ' টাকা। *At the end her salary was 400 Taka.*

(Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 96)

existential (??)

আমি বুঝি কেহ নই। *Am I nobody?* (Milne, p 211)

with উচিত (present neg and past tense)

তা করা কি উচিত নয়? *Shouldn't that be done?* (Milne, p 218)

যতদিন না তা হচ্ছে তদিন আমাদের নিচেষ্ট থাকা উচিত নয়।

We must not cease our efforts until it is accomplished. (Milne, p 215)

আমার বোঝা উচিত ছিল। *I should have understood.* (Smith, p 125)

তোমাকে পুলিশে দেওয়া উচিত ছিল।

I should have turned you over to the police. (Smith, p 125)

with future directed verbal noun in gen

পয়সা দাও আর টাকা দাও তিনি ভুলবার নয়।

Give him poisha or rupees, he is not the kind of man to forget.

lit: *he is not of the forgetting* (Milne, p 178)

একথায় ভুলবার ছেলে নয়। *He is not to be beguiled by those words* (Milne, p 179)

should be *He is not one to forget this.*

আমি পাগল হইবার ছেলে নই। *I am not a man to run mad so easily.* (Milne, p 179)

দমবার মেয়ে নয় জয়ন্তী। *Joyoti is not a girl to be subdued.*

(Bangla Journal, Vol 4, p 114)

with verbal noun + নয় (is not to be done)

কিন্তু রবি দ্বারা সে কাজ হওয়ার নয়। *But that is not to be accomplished by Rabi.*

(Smith, p 81)

এটা হওয়ার নয়, হবে ও না। *This is not supposed to happen and it won't happen.*

(from a personal letter)

implying purpose

মানুষ শুধু প্রেমের কারণে নয়। *Human beings don't just exist for love.*

(Bangla Journal Vol 4, p 89)

This is syntactically similar to postpositional uses, cf এটা তোমার জন্যে.

unusual (expected নেই)

বিনা নিমন্ত্রণে সেখানে যাওয়া আমার ইচ্ছা নয়।

I don't wish to go there without an invitation. (Milne, p 176)

সে যে আমাকে কি বিরক্ত করে তুলিয়াছিল তাহা আর বলিবার কথা নয়।

I can't adequately express how greatly he annoyed me. (Milne, p 200)

even more unusual

তোমার খাওয়া হয়েছে নয়। *You have eaten, have you not?*

তুমি প্রস্তুত আছ নয়। *You are ready, are you not?* (both Milne, p 211)

According to the translations, these are questions asking for confirmation of a stated fact. We

would expect

তোমার খাওয়া হয়েছে, নাকি?

or

তুমি প্রস্তুত আছ, তাই না?

or, very colloquially,

তুমি প্রস্তুত আছ, না?

Brother James (p 23) has সে ভাল ছেলে, না (নয়)? *He is a good boy, isn't he?*

Perhaps Milne's sentences are a sort of twisted variation of this, but how can it work with a second person subject?

3. negatives of হওয়া

তোমার কোনো পরিবর্তন হয় নি।

You haven't changed at all.

(Smith, p 45)

The *becoming, emerging* component of হওয়া is apparent here.

গাবার মত হয়নি কোন গান, দিবার মত হয়নি কিছু দান।

There is no song worth singing, no gift worth giving.

(Tagore, quoted in Brother James, p 57)

a more appropriate translation may be:

no song has been sung that's worth singing, no gift has been given that's worth giving

সুহৃদ বাবু সাহায্য না করলে লেখা পড়া শেখা হত না।

If Suhrit Babu hadn't helped me, I should have remained illiterate. (Milne, p 219)

in subjunctive

এটা বোঝানো সহজ হত না। *It wouldn't be easy to explain.* (Smith, p 82)

4. with conditionals (affirmative and negative, হওয়া and zero verb)

with নয়:

বাড়ী না গেলে নয়। *It won't do if I don't go home.* (Milne, p 216)

আমি না গেলে নয় or আমার না গেলে নয়। *It won't do for me not to go.*

(Ferguson, p 98)

কিন্তু আজ তাহার না খাইলেই নয়। *But today he can't go without eating.*

(Milne, p 187)

with হয়:

তাকে পণ্ডিত বলিলেই হয়। *One may as well call him a pundit*

(Milne, p 187).

সোজা কথা, বলে দিলেই হয়। *It is a simple thing and may be said without beating about the bush.* (Milne, p 187)

Milne's translation is very imaginative. Literally the sentence means

It's simple, just to say it is enough.

with হয় না :

একজন ডাক্তার ডাকলে হয় না। *Won't it be wise to call a doctor?*

(Milne, p 187)

কিন্তু আর কিছু দেখলে হয় না। *But won't you do well to look out for something else?* (Milne, p 187) (translations dubious!)

Shouldn't it be আর কিছু না দেখলে হয় না! I suspect that Milne's sentence may be a typing error.

7. SUMMARY

I said at the beginning of this chapter that Ferguson's article was excellent and then proceeded to criticize it all along the way, so maybe a correction is needed here. On the positive side there is the

clarity of his writing: what he does say, he says very well. His definition for the use of the zero verb in contrast to omission of *আছে* (section 2) is an exemplary model for concise, lucid and accurate grammatical thinking. He has a clear concept of his objectives and his findings confirm his initial hypotheses but at the same time he does not shirk apparent contradictions as on the omission of *আছে* where he modifies his original assumptions.

The problems with his approach can be seen in two distinct but interlinked areas:

- He seems to have an unshakeable belief in the logic behind grammatical structures. His definitions start from the top down, eg uses of *আছে* are divided into existential, copulative and auxiliary categories and all possible uses of *আছে* are assigned to one or other of these categories. This, not surprisingly, leads to some unconvincing results. Examples are given in section 1.

It is an unfortunate fact - and this goes beyond a comment on Ferguson's work - that many linguists are above all intent on making language structures fit into given categories. This is very understandable - what greater pleasure than finding a grammatical rule that works! But, it could be argued, what do we gain by distributing language structures into neat and well-defined compartments and thereby losing the language? What do we gain by clinging to our ideas of the way things should be and losing sight of the way they are?

I started with Ferguson's 'unshakeable belief', but in a lot of ways this kind of linguistic procedure actually shows a lack of belief, a lack of belief in the underlying logic, not of grammatical definition, but of living language. As linguists our objective must be, above all, to observe how language is used and to attempt to draw some conclusions, even sometimes discover some rules, but our potential for discovery and learning is cut sadly and unnecessarily short if we shut our eyes to structures that 'do not fit'. These structures especially - we come across them all the time - show, not that there is something wrong with the language, but that we, as yet, 'see through a glass, darkly'. We are tempted to treat language as a research object, to be categorised, defined and compartmentalised, but we can gain and learn so much more if we treat it with the respect that any living organism deserves.

- Ferguson is very sparing with example sentences, ie it is not unusual for him to content himself with one or two examples to demonstrate language use. His discussion on the use of the pro-copula in Bengali is essentially based on the sentence *ছেলেটি হয় / হচ্ছে / হ'ল ছাত্র*. There is no attempt on his part to probe any further by doing, for instance, simple substitution tests to gain a bigger picture. The underlying, and ever recurring, problem with this is the plight of foreign linguists whose research is based on a given and limited body of language, but who are not themselves in the position to take their inquiries further because they have little or no intuition about the language and hence do not know which questions to ask. This does not prevent them from getting results and from frequently making accurate and valuable observations, but they exist, as it were, in a vacuum.

The only way out of this situation is to bring the research and the language together. This is so obvious - who would attempt a medical diagnosis without a thorough knowledge of how the human body works? Becoming intimately acquainted with a language takes time and dedication, but how can we otherwise make any real discoveries? This again comes back to respect for languages and their idiosyncrasies - especially for a language like Bengali whose grammar has been subjected to numerous diagnoses by undoubtedly dedicated, but essentially 'outsider' linguists. Their work has provided us with a basis but - this may sound harsh - has also created an enormous gap between a postulated research object 'Bengali' and the living language which is spoken by every child in the streets of Kolkata or the villages of Bangladesh. We need to close this gap!

But back to our structures. The main findings (and areas for future research) in this chapter can be listed as follows:

- the importance of the zero verb (not 'the verb is omitted'!) as the main copula in Bengali
- the still uncertain use and function of the procopula
- the peculiar standing of abstract nouns in their uses with either হওয়া or আছ-
- the potential of nouns and adjectives to form conjunct verbs with হওয়া, করা and/ or আছ- and their semantic implications
- the syntactic and semantic overlap of verbs of being in certain areas and also their contrasting uses
- the unexpected power of the incomplete verb আছ- to usurp the past tense uses of complete verbs like থাকা as well as হওয়া - a true David and Goliath situation
- the as yet unexplored suppletion of আছ- in dependent, eg relative clauses, eg যার ধন থাকে vs যার ধন আছে

CHAPTER 6

WORD ORDER AND SENTENCE STRUCTURE - PASSIVE AND IMPERSONAL STRUCTURES

PRELIMINARIES

This chapter was meant to give an overview of Bengali sentence structures, active and passive, coordinating and subordinating sentences, complex sentence types such as conditional and relative sentences. A chapter like that would have brought this thesis to a fitting close but it would have been either too long or too cursory. The complexity of, for instance, the Bengali relative-correlative system is not something that can be dealt with in one or two paragraphs. As a result of this, the chapter is something of a compromise. The first half is on some characteristic features of word order and sentence structure in Bengali, the second half concentrates on passives and impersonal structures.

The research situation on sentence structure is such that there are transformational analyses of individual syntactic features (Humayun Azad on pronominalization, Abul Manzur Morshed on relativization, Tanmoy Bhattacharya on Bengali determiners) but, from a more general point of view, there are a number of (mainly non-Bengali) authors who begin their discussions of specific grammatical topics with brief introductions of 'a few basic grammatical principles' (Klaiman, p 2). These introductions vary considerably in depth and in perspective and would make for an interesting study in themselves. As an example, I have given Bykova's observations in section 6.1.

There is a deplorable but persistent tradition of describing the structures of one language in terminology which is suitable for another. Generations of German school children were taught English -ing forms in terms of gerunds (*reading is one of my favourite pastimes*) and were informed of the lack of gerundives in English as if the German translation of a Latin phrase like *liber legendus - ein zu lesendes Buch* *a book to be read* were not also a rather artificial grammatical construct.

All of this changed with the advent of linguistics as an academic discipline, with Saussure's synchronic structuralist approach and the concept of linguistic relativity (Sapir/Whorf) emerging in America, based on first analyses of Indian American languages. These new departures in linguistic thinking brought with them the recognition that grammatical categories are not a given framework which can be superimposed on all languages, but that there is in fact a great deal of structural variety between languages, which may call for a redefinition and adjustment of grammatical categories. In practice this means that in descriptive linguistics we move away from the well-tried grammatical concepts of Latin and instead use terminology which is more suitable for a language like English.

In describing Bengali language structures, again, we have to adjust our frame of reference. In a teaching context a one-to-one transposition from, say, English to Bengali can hardly be avoided, but on a more analytical level we begin to recognize fundamental differences in many areas, which need more appropriate definitions. The most important of these areas are, in my view, the postpositional system,

the fluidity of word classes, the parameters of passive and impersonal structures and the concept of transitivity. Bengali, of course, shares many of these features with other South Asian languages, and a terminology to describe these features is gradually building up, notably in collections like Manindra Verma's *Complex Predicates in South Asian Languages*. A definition of Bengali grammatical categories can and should not be based on translation from English, whereas comparative studies with other South Asian languages will undoubtedly lead to a clearer picture. This chapter can only make some tentative suggestions.

1. Language Typology

The linguistic discipline of language typology is based on the belief that languages share particular, systematic features called language universals, and that a study of these features can establish typical mechanisms and allow a classification of languages accordingly. One of the most visible features languages display is word order. It is important from the outset to distinguish between word order and sentence structure: word order and word order variations happen at the speech act (the situational, pragmatic) level of language; sentence structure is concerned with the syntactic relationship between the parts of a sentence. Henri Weil, in his book *De l'ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues modernes* (Paris 1844), was the first European linguist to pursue seriously this line of enquiry. He gives this Latin example to show the fundamental difference between word order and sentence structure:

Idem Romulus Romam condidit.

Hanc urbem condidit Romulus.

Condidit Romulus Romam.

In all three sentences the underlying syntactic structure remains the same: Romulus is the subject (S), Romam (or urbem) the object (O) and condidit the verb (V), but the word order varies according to the contextual situation.

In spite of this apparent variability in word order, each language has an inherent underlying word order which is typically used in sentences that express no particular emphasis. Thus, the Latin unmarked sentence

Romulus (S) Romam (O) condidit (V)

would in English be *Romulus (S) founded (V) Rome (O)*

and in Bengali রোমুলুস (S) রোমকে (O) ভিত্তিহীন করল (V)

Research on language typology, in particular Joseph Greenberg's work, has shown that word order patterns such as SVO (English, Dutch, Chinese, Russian, Italian, Spanish, Greek etc) or SOV (Bengali, Latin, Japanese, Farsi, Hindi, Sanskrit etc) go hand-in-hand with other language features, such as the existence of pre- or postpositions, the placing of determiners before or after nouns, the presence or absence of pro-drop and of dative subjects. These are called implicational language universals.

Another classifying distinction between languages, which undoubtedly links in with the word order system, is the amount of grammatical inflection. There is, at least in natural languages, no such thing as zero inflection, so this is a quantitative feature and there are often historic changes involved. Old English was a highly inflected language with noun and adjective declension, gender and a complex

conjugational system, features that are still found, for instance, in German. Modern English is a predominantly analytic language, which means that it is made up mainly of free lexical units and there is little remaining inflection. Bengali is a moderately inflected language with verbal conjugation according to person and tense and case marking for nouns and pronouns.

The extent of inflection in a language has an immediate influence on the flexibility of word order. In order to produce unambiguous sentences, English has to follow a relatively rigid word order. Bengali has more freedom - so much, in fact, that Smith states baldly: 'Word order in Bengali is free' (p 162). A very simple example of the difference between English and Bengali word order is the sentence: *The boy loves the girl* - which can only be given in this word order. In Bengali we can say

ছেলেটি মেয়েটিকে ভালবাসে।

with the subject at the beginning of the sentence; or the subject - object order can be reversed as in

মেয়েটিকে ভালবাসে ছেলেটি।

with the same meaning, but different emphasis.

2. Word Order

Linguistically, words are the lexical or morphological units which are put together in sentences to convey meaning. In all languages, words can be grouped together into word classes with different characteristics. Some word classes are closed as for instance determiners or prepositions in English; others are open, which means that new words can be formed and become part of the lexicon, eg verbs like *to surf*, *to access*, *to mosh* and the latest *to google* in English. Languages have rules which determine the way words are put together. In English, as mentioned above, articles precede nouns, in Bengali they follow nouns. English has prepositions, Bengali has postpositions.

Word order describes the way words are put together to make meaningful statements, but words within a sentence also fulfil particular syntactic functions. Any structure which can be considered a sentence - this is disregarding one-word exclamations or ellipses - has to have at least two components, a subject and a predicate. The predicate almost invariably contains a verbal element as well as whatever objects or complements are required by the particular verb; the subject usually contains a nominal form. This is true for English and Bengali as for most languages, but again Bengali has more flexibility than English. The almost infinite number of ways in which the subject and predicate slots can be filled is, in a nutshell, what the study of syntax is all about.

The difference in basic word order between English and Bengali can be seen in the following graph, taken from Longman's grammar (p 3):

→ p 205

English

subject	predicate		adverbials (optional)		
	verb	object	manner	place	time
I	bought	a hat			yesterday.
The children	ran			home.	
We	ate	our meal	in silence.		
The car	stopped		suddenly.		
The young girl with long black hair	walked		confidently	across the room.	

Bengali

subject	adverbials (optional)			predicate	
	time	manner	place	object	verb
আমি	গতকাল			একটা টুপি	কিনেছি।
বাক্সা		দৌড় দিয়ে		বাসায়	গিয়েছে।
আমরা		চুপ করে		ভাত	খেলাম।
গাড়িটা		হঠাৎ করে			থেমে গেল।
*মেয়েটি		নিশ্চিতভাবে	ঘরে		পার হয়েছে।

*The subject *the young girl with long black hair* can be given in Bengali only with a relative clause and even in that construction it sounds clumsy. Part of the problem is that all the additional information (*young, with long black hair*) would have to be positioned before the subject মেয়ে *girl* or যুবতি *young girl*, but another difficulty arises from the underlying sentence মেয়েটির লম্বা কালো চুল আছে। *The girl has long black hair.* In English this can be contracted to *with long black hair* and in Bengali it can be given as a relative clause: যার লম্বা কালো চুল আছে সে মেয়েটি ... but no suitable adjective can be formed from আছে. A different attribute such as *in the long black dress* could be expressed in Bengali, though still not very elegantly, with a verbal adjective লম্বা কালো ফ্রক পড়া যুবতি *the young girl wearing a long black dress*.

The only other significant difference is in the sentence *The children ran home*, where the Bengali sentence literally means *The children went home running*, ie *running* becomes an adverb describing manner. The Bengali verb দৌড় দেওয়া *run* cannot, by itself, take a directional complement.

3. Regressive Syntax

3.1 verbs and what goes before them

As we have seen, in unmarked Bengali sentences the verb comes at the end and any objects or complements are put before the verb. This results in what Smith calls 'regressive syntax' or Marian

Madden the 'backwards' character of sentences. Smith gives these graphic examples to show the difference between Bengali and English syntactic mechanisms:

খরচ	the cost
সারা বছরের খরচ	the cost of an entire year
খাওয়া-দাওয়ার সারা বছরের খরচ	the cost of an entire year's provision
তিনজন মানুষের খাওয়া-দাওয়ার সারা বছরের খরচ	the cost of an entire year's provision for three people

This is a noun phrase expansion which does not contain a verb, but it is the verb in sentence final position which causes this type of structuring. Here is a complete sentence which shows the same features (also from Smith)

বর্ধমান নামের উৎপত্তি সহজে ব্যাখ্যা করা যায় না।

The origin of the name Burdhwan[sic] cannot be explained easily.

উৎপত্তি	the origin
নামের উৎপত্তি	the origin of the name
বর্ধমান নামের উৎপত্তি	the origin of the name Burdhwan
যায় না	cannot be (lit: doesn't go)
ব্যাখ্যা করা যায় না	cannot be explained
সহজে ব্যাখ্যা করা যায় না	cannot be explained easily

This sentence organisation shows clearly the division between the two basic sentence components: the subject and predicate, both 'regressively' expanded.

Objects precede their verbs and in unmarked contexts indirect objects precede direct objects, eg

সে তোমাকে (indirect object) চিঠি (direct object) লিখবে।

He will write you a letter.

3.2 morphology

This seems an appropriate point for a morphological digression. Bengali makes no distinction between direct and indirect objects, though their semantic properties remain. Inanimate objects are usually unmarked for case, eg

আমি ছবিটা দেখেছি। *I have seen the picture.*

but there is a growing tendency to add the object case ending, to concrete as well as to abstract nouns.

Here are some examples from Probbhash Das, *He nari, akash hou* (p 58ff):

তিনি ভুল বুঝছেন হিন্দু বিবাহকে।

He misunderstands the concept of Hindu marriage.

স্বামীর সঙ্গে জীবনকে, সংসারকে সমান দায়িত্বে ভাগ করে নিয়ে জীবনের পথে এগিয়ে চলছেন।

She proceeds on the path of life by sharing equal responsibility for life and the family with her husband. (This is from a rather biased speech on women's rights!)

এই সমস্যাকে আরও তীব্রতর করেছে। *They have exacerbated this problem.*

The following example is from Bangla Journal (henceforth BJ), Vol 5, No 1, p 78:

নীপা নাদিমের এই আপত্তিকে ভেবেছে একটা কৌশল।

Nipa thought Nadim's objections were just an excuse.

We also find that object endings are sometimes added to oblique plural nouns or pronouns in order to distinguish them from genitive forms, as in

সে আমাদেরকে কিছু বলে নি।

He didn't tell us anything.

Morphologically, this indicates an increase in inflection and shows a development in the opposite direction from English, which has moved away from an inflected to an analytic structure.

3.3 government

The 'regressive' ordering of syntactic elements in a sentence is one of the crucial features which distinguishes SOV from SVO languages and is related to, but also distinctive from, word order. The relationship between a verb and its (in Bengali preceding) object is one of government, ie the verb determines whether or not an object is required and an object does not exist without a governing verb. This same hierarchical situation exists wherever one syntactic element is dependent on another. Verb-object dependency is easy to see, though, in English for instance, objects are not obligatory after verbs like *write*, *teach*, *tell*, *show*, and there are a number of verbs which can be either transitive or intransitive (*I rang the bell* vs *the phone rang* etc) Milne uses the same terminology to describe the relationship between a verb and an adverb, even though adverbs are optional sentence elements. In Bengali, then, governed elements precede governing elements. The difference between English and Bengali can be seen in the following table. Governed (or dependent) elements are underlined.

governed element	Bengali (before governing element)	English (after governing element)
subordinate clauses	সে যে পাগল আমি বিশ্বাস করি না।	<i>I don't believe <u>that he is crazy</u>.</i>
	আমি যা বলি তা তুমি শুন না।	<i>You don't listen to <u>what I say</u>.</i>
	এই কাজটা শেষ হলে তুমি খুশি হবে।	<i>You will be happy <u>when this work is finished</u>.</i>
objects	আমি ওই মেয়েকে পছন্দ করি না।	<i>I don't like <u>that woman</u>.</i>
non-finites	infinitive আমি ভাবতে পারি না।	<i>I can't <u>imagine</u>...</i>
	infinitive সে বুঝতে লাগল।	<i>He began <u>to understand</u>...</i>
	verbal noun তার ইতরামি করা ভাল লাগে।	<i>He likes <u>teasing</u>.</i>
adverbs	হঠাৎ সিদ্ধান্ত নেওয়া	<i>to decide <u>suddenly</u></i>
adverbial phrases	time আমরা পরে সে কথা বলব।	<i>We will talk about this <u>later</u>.</i>
	place আমি কোথাও যাব না।	<i>I'm not going <u>anywhere</u>.</i>
	manner ও বাস করে যায়।	<i>He goes <u>by bus</u>.</i>

4. Implicational Universals

As mentioned above, language universals such as word order - SOV in the case of Bengali - are accompanied by other, implicational patterns. There has been a vivid but rather futile discussion, notably Greenberg (1960s) and Lehmann (1970s), about the chicken-and-egg factor concerning these structures, but for the present purposes it is enough to recognise that these phenomena tend to occur together.

4.1 pro-drop

Pro-drop means that a language can omit personal pronouns in the subject position. Both Italian and Spanish (both SVO languages) are pro-drop languages. In Spanish pro-drop is so common that verbal paradigms in textbooks are usually given without pronouns altogether. It is logical to assume that pro-drop occurs in languages with unambiguous conjugational systems where tense and person information is given in the verb forms. Bengali also has pro-drop, but it is not as automatic as in Spanish. It is particularly noticeable in answering yes-or-no questions where Bengali uses only the verb form, eg

আপনি কি কলকাতা গিয়েছেন? হ্যাঁ, গিয়েছি।	<i>Have you been to Kolkata? Yes, I have.</i>
চা খাবেন? খাব।	<i>Will you have some tea? Yes, please.</i>
তুমি কি হিন্দি পার? না, পারি না।	<i>Can you speak Hindi? No, I can't.</i>
আমাকে দশ টাকা দেবে? দিচ্ছি।	<i>Will you give me ten Taka? Yes.</i>

In narrative texts we find many examples where a subject, once given, is dropped and subsequent sentences are 'subjectless', eg:

বাবু বড় অনামনস্ক হয়ে গেল। চাঁদুর কথা ভাবছিল। গত বছরের ঘটনাটা হঠাৎ মনে পড়ল।
<i>Babu became very worried. He (omitted) was thinking about Cadu.</i>
<i>Suddenly he (omitted) remembered the incident from the year before.</i>

(Bimol Kar, *Uttorer hawa*, p 101)

The rules for where pro-drop occurs and where it doesn't are very much context-based in Bengali. Where the reference is clear from the context, eg

কি কারণে জানি না। *I don't know why.* (BJ 3, p 46)

subjects can be dropped, but this is not an automatic process. As can be expected, pro-drop occurs much more frequently in first and second person than in third person statements.

4.2 postpositions

In accordance with the recognised pattern for SOV languages, adpositional elements in Bengali follow a nominal phrase, which is a complicated way of saying that Bengali has postpositions, not prepositions. There are only very few exceptions to this. Milne has the sentence

ইত্তক ১৩১৪ নাগাৎ ১৩১৬ সাল। *from 1314 to 1316* (p 265)

where both ইত্তক and নাগাৎ are used as prepositions. নাগাৎ is now used as a postposition and modern equivalents to the combination are থেকে *from* and পর্যন্ত *until*, both of which are postpositional. The only Bengali preposition in current use is বিনা *without* preceding a locative noun phrase:

বিনা চশমায় আমি দেখতে পাই না। *I cannot see without spectacles.* (Milne, p 271)

A comparable example in English is the postpositional use of *notwithstanding* (*rules notwithstanding*) Interestingly, the semantic equivalent in German *zum Trotz* is also postpositional, as in *allen Regeln zum Trotz despite all the rules*.

4.3 position of determiners

One of the implicational universals of SOV languages is that determiners are placed after nouns. Bengali conforms to this rule on the whole, but the distribution and application of definite, indefinite articles and demonstrative adjectives is quite different in Bengali from the way it is in English. In certain cases the article can be omitted, eg

sing def (animate)	টা, টি can be omitted	মেয়ে(টি) আসছে।	<i>the girl is coming</i>
sing def (inanimate)	টা, টি can be omitted	গাড়ি(টা) আসছে।	<i>the car is coming</i>
sing indef (animate)	একজন, একটি	একজন মেয়ে আসছে।	<i>a girl is coming</i>
sing indef (inanimate)	একটা	একটা গাড়ি আসছে।	<i>a car is coming</i>
plural def (animate)	- রা	মেয়েরা আসছে।	<i>the girls are coming</i>
plural def (inanimate)	- গুলো	গাড়িগুলো আসছে।	<i>the cars are coming</i>
plural indefinite	omitted	গাড়ি আসছে।	<i>there are cars coming</i>

This shows that the singular indefinite article can be formed with the word for *one* plus the 'definite' particle টা for inanimates, জন, টি for humans. The same pattern applies for attributive numerals, as in একটা রাস্তা *one road*, তিনটি মহিলা *three women* and the equivalent interrogatives কয়টা খেলনা *how many games*, কয়জন ছাত্র *how many students?* This in effect shifts the article to a prenominal position, but as an attachment to a numeral or question word it is still postpositional. Demonstrative adjectives *this, that* consist of the demonstrative particle which precedes the noun, and the definite determiner which follows it, but singular determiners can be omitted, eg

1	singular	this (here)	এই মেয়ে(টি), এই কলম(টা)	<i>this girl, pen</i>
2		that (there)	ওই মেয়ে(টি), ওই কলম(টা)	<i>that girl, pen</i>
3		removed from context	সে মেয়ে, সে কলম	<i>that girl, pen</i>
4	plural	these (here)	এই মেয়েরা, এই কলমগুলো	<i>these girls, pens</i>
5		those (there)	ওই মেয়েরা, ওই কলমগুলো	<i>those girls, pens</i>
6		removed from context	সে মেয়েরা, সে কলমগুলো	<i>those girls, pens</i>

I have given the translations for rows 3 and 6 as *that* and *those* only because there are no equivalent adjectives in English. Combinations with neither-here-nor-there সে in the singular do not usually add the determiners টা or টি, but they can be used for a more definite sense.

4.4 dative subjects

So-called dative (or: experiencer) subjects, which in Bengali are usually in the genitive, occur in many South Asian languages and are linked with a particular group of verbs. This will be discussed in more detail in section 8 on impersonal structures, but here are some examples for the type of structure under consideration. In all these sentences the semantic subject is in the genitive, the verb form is in 3rd person and the verb generally, but not always, expresses something that is experienced, not done, by the (semantic) subject. English translations are best given as active sentences.

4.4.1	আমার আজকে খুব ভাল লাগছে।	<i>I am feeling very well today.</i>
4.4.2	তার অসুখ হয়েছে।	<i>He has fallen ill.</i>
4.4.3	গল্পটা তোমার কেমন লেগেছে?	<i>How did you like the story?</i>
4.4.4	বাবার কালকে আসার অসম্ভব।	<i>Father won't be able to come tomorrow.</i>
4.4.5	আমার দুইটা ভাই আছে।	<i>I have two brothers.</i>
4.4.6	আপনার আর কি দরকার?	<i>What else do you need?</i>
4.4.7	তার ভয় হচ্ছে।	<i>He is afraid.</i>
4.4.8	তোমার কি খাওয়া ইচ্ছা করে?	<i>What would you like to eat?</i>
4.4.9	তার এখানে থাকার কারণ কি?	<i>Why is he staying here?</i>

These few example sentences show what a variety of meanings are structured in this way.

5. Changes in Word Order (emphasis)

Smith says that word order in Bengali is free. This is true in as far as simple sentences like *I have told you the truth* can be arranged in all possible variations. The unmarked order is

5.1 আমি (subj) বাবাকে (indir obj) সত্যি (or সত্য) কথা (dir obj) বলেছি (verb)।

This word order can be changed with the purpose of emphasising any of the four sentence components.

Smith says that stressed components go at the end of the sentence, eg the sentence

বাবাকে (indir obj) সত্যি কথা (dir obj) বলেছি (verb) আমি (subj)।

implies that other people may have lied to father. The stressed sentence part can also, however, stand at the beginning:

বাবাকে (indir obj) আমি (subj) সত্যি কথা (dir obj) বলেছি (verb)।

implies that I may have lied to other people. Stress is above all a feature of intonation in spoken language and an isolated, written sentence cannot convey its possible overtones. Suffice it to say that both the initial and the final sentence position are used for emphasis. All combinations are grammatically acceptable but, for instance

বলেছি বাবাকে সত্যি কথা আমি।

with the verb at the beginning and the subject at the end, beautiful though it may sound, is likely only in poetry.

The statement that word order in Bengali is free should, however, not be taken to imply that word order is arbitrary. If and when word order is changed from the normal SOV sequence, there is usually good reason for it. The positioning of adverbial phrases is relatively variable. In the sentence

- 5.2 অন্য কলেজ থেকে নিশানরা আসতো ক্যান্টিনে, বিকেলের দিকে।

In the afternoon Nishan and her friends would come to the canteen from a different college. (BJ 3, p 73)

we have one time- and two place-adverbials placed at the beginning and at the end purely in order to achieve a pleasant flow in the sentence - there is no particular emphasis intended here. Placing the adverbials all together in between the subject and the verb would simply make the sentence too heavy. Statistically, in an arbitrary body of contemporary non-fiction text no less than 80% of sentences have the verb in final position - this is an estimate from about 150 pages of text from three consecutive issues of the *Bangla Journal*. I was surprised by this, particularly in view of fairly free adverbial movement - this may be more relevant to fictional texts - but it shows the overall regularity of Bengali word order.

Emphasis has been mentioned as a reason for word order change. Other reasons are, for instance, the complexity of particular parts of the sentence. I will restrict myself to three examples.

In the following sentence we have a long postpositional phrase preceding a one-syllable subject and thus, in a way, fulfilling an attributive function:

- 5.3 কিচেনের দিকের দরজার ওপাশ থেকে নক শোনা যায়।

A knock could be heard from the other side of the door leading to the kitchen.

(BJ 5, p 79)

Long complements can follow verbs, eg

- 5.4 আর এখানে তিনি ছিলেন বুদ্ধিজীবী শ্রেণী থেকে আলাদা, সাধারণ মানুষের কাছাকাছি বা তাদের একজন। *And in this he was different from the intellectual elite, close to ordinary people, one of them. (BJ 3, p 45)*

This can be interpreted as an emphatic use, but in a narrative context such as this, and with the semantically bland verb আছি, the positioning of the triple complement at the end of the sentence simply gives it the appropriate weight. The same is true for

- 5.5 সেটা ও সম্ভব হয়েছিল ছফা ভাইয়ের আগ্রহের কারণে।

This also became possible through Chofa's interest. (BJ 3 p 47)

In sentence 5.6 we have a juxtaposition of conjunct verbs - the precise syntactic relationship between abstract nouns like আলাপ *chat*, আলোচনা *discussion*, বগড়া *argument* and the verbs they combine with awaits further research. The positioning of বগড়া *argument* at the end of the sentence is, in this case, an emphatic device.

- 5.6 তাঁর সঙ্গে আলাপ আলোচনা যতটা করেছি তার চেয়ে বেশি আমি মনে হয় করেছি বগড়া।

As many talks and discussions as I have had with him, I think I have had more

arguments. (BJ 3, p 48)

6. Sentence Structure

This section is nothing but a brief glimpse at some of the issues that relate to sentence structure in Bengali. I chose Bykova's account of Bengali sentence structure for her succinct statement on what she

sees as typical for Bengali. Section 6.2 summarises some of my own thoughts. These are, more than anything else perhaps, preliminaries for future research possibilities.

6.1 E. M. Bykova

Bengali sentences can be two-peak, three-peak or four-peak, depending on what type of verb is involved. The first split is between nominal and verbal sentences. Bykova's nominal sentences are what is more commonly called copulative sentences and can only have two peaks. The table (note the graphic effect!) shows her basic sentence types (my examples). English translations of these simple sentences are (6.1.) 1. *Rabindranath is a poet.* 2. *The girl is beautiful.* 3. *The boy is crying.* 4. *I will drop him off.* 5. *He has opened the door.* 6. *I will give you the key.* 7. *He will explain this matter to me.*

nominal (2 peak)		subject	complement
noun complement	6.1.1	রবীন্দ্রনাথ	কবি।
adj complement	6.1.2	মেয়েটি	সুন্দর।

verbal		subject	indirect object	direct object	verb
2 peak, intransitives	6.1.3	ছেলেটি			কাঁদে।
3 peak, causative of intransitives	6.1.4	আমি		তাকে	নামাব।
3 peak, transitives	6.1.5	উনি		দরজাটা	খুলেছে।
4 peak, transitives	6.1.6	আমি	তোমাকে	চাবি	দেব।
4 peak, causative of transitives	6.1.7	সে	আমাকে	কথাটা	বুঝাবে।

This type of classification does not take into account adverbial or other optional parts of the sentence. In fact, it is little more than a demonstration of verb valency. That is presumably her reason for bringing in the matter of causative verbs. She indicates that some causatives of transitive verbs can revert back to three-peak structures by dropping the direct object and moving the indirect object into the direct object slot, eg

6.1.8 মা ছেলেকে ভাত খাওয়ায়। *The mother gives the boy rice to eat.* (four-peak)

can be changed to 6.1.9 মা ছেলেকে খাওয়ায়। *The mother feeds the boy.* (three-peak)

Bykova herself admits that the difference between 6.1.9 and a non-causative sentence like 6.1.5 is purely semantic and has little to do with sentence structure as such. She does, however, stress the importance of two-peak nominal sentences as she includes in them verbal noun 'constructions [...] with modal meanings (সম্ভব *possible*, দরকার *necessity*, উচিত *proper*, অবশ্যক *necessary*) and the verb চলা' (p 147). She sees these as essentially copulative, ie subject - complement structures. This is one

possible interpretation of them, but the syntactic shape of these 'modals' is rather vague. Would she include in this group sentences like

এই কথা বলতে তার অধিকার নেই।

He has no right to say this.

with an infinitive rather than a verbal noun? I suspect that these structures are more complex than Bykova sees them. I have discussed them in more detail in chapter 1 (p 40ff).

Bykova sums up in one paragraph her perception of what is typical in Bengali as a language. It would be absurd to expect anyone to give their impressions of a language in a few sentences, but when a statement like that is made spontaneously it is all the more telling and I want to quote it in full:

'The peculiarities of the Bengali patterns manifest themselves in the sphere of functioning. The diversity of their functions is by far greater than the functions of corresponding sentences observed in other languages. This can be explained by the infinite possibility of combining a noun-subject with a verb of being - existence (practically any noun); the poly-functionality of the genitive case, specifically its ability to function as subject (possessor, doer, subject being in a certain state); a situational likeness between the instrumental-locative case and the genitive of the subject; the lack of the verb *to have*, the peculiarity of passive constructions; and last, but not least, the specific combinability of Bengali words as lexical-semantic units.' (p 144)

Bykova's thought processes are not always easy to follow - her unrelenting density of language sometimes makes one want to gasp for breath! I am not quite sure what she means by the 'situational likeness between the instrumental-locative case and the genitive of the subject', but her comment on the diversity of function is undoubtedly one of the crucial characteristics of Bengali.

6.2 Diversity of function

There are many different linguistic phenomena which could be singled out as being distinctive and characteristic, but I agree with Bykova that diversity of function (on all language levels) is a central feature of Bengali. In the following paragraphs I give a brief outline and some examples to show what 'diversity of function' may mean. There are two main aspects of it:

- fluidity of word classes

This is a lexicographer's subject! Bengali words do not stay within their designated word classes but tend to stray. Here are some examples. There are a number of nouns and adjectives where the dividing line is not at all clear. We have the noun *সত্যি* *truth* and the adjectives *সত্য* *true* but the usual combination to refer to the truth is *সত্যি কথা*, ie *truth word*, not *সত্য কথা* *true word*. There are of course in most languages words that belong to more than one word class, but Bengali takes this kind of fluidity to a new level. Even with words which one uses naturally and confidently there can be surprises. A word like *নষ্ট* *destroyed, ruined, wasted*, for instance, is an adjective but is rarely used attributively. Morphologically it is formed like *স্পষ্ট* *clear, pure*, which is also an adjective and like *কষ্ট* *hardship, trouble*, which is a noun. The difference between *উচিত* *proper*

(adjective) and দরকার *need* (noun) only becomes apparent in negation. সহায় *helper* is a noun, but its negative অসহায় *helpless, defenceless* is an adjective. There are many more examples like this.

- poly-functionality (an ugly word!)
 - postpositions

As we saw in chapter 3, the function of postposition in Bengali is taken on mainly by nominal and verbal forms. Some of these forms, for instance থেকে *from*, change sufficiently from their original meaning to acquire a new postpositional status, but the great majority of particularly nominal postpositions remain locative noun forms and are used as such.

- genitives

Bykova points to the poly-functionality (why not 'multi-purpose' or 'versatility'?) of the genitive in Bengali. Although she does not give any examples herself, it is likely that she means structures like the following. Genitive nouns and pronouns take the subject role in impersonal structures where they can refer to

a possessor	আমার দুইটা ভাই আছে।	<i>I have two brothers.</i>
an experiencer	তার শীত করছে।	<i>He is feeling cold.</i>
a recipient	আমার নতুন চাকরি হয়েছে।	<i>I have got a new job.</i>
a doer	আমার চিঠি লেখা হয়েছে।	<i>I have written a letter.</i>

If we take a step back from sentence functions to semantic structuring within phrases we find that noun phrases with a genitive modifier can express the following relationships:

object - possessor	বাবার জুতা	<i>father's shoes</i>
object - material	চামরার ব্যাগ	<i>leather bag</i>
object - place	রাস্তার দোকান	<i>street shops</i>
object - purpose	খেলায় পুতুল	<i>doll for playing</i>
phenomenon - cause	বৃষ্টির ক্ষতি	<i>damage from rain</i>

There are likely to be more of these types of structures, but these few examples are sufficient to give us an impression of what poly-functionality means in Bengali.

- conjunctions

This is moving very briefly into the realm of complex sentences. Conjunctions provide the mortar which is needed to link sentences together in a logical sequence. Bengali, like most languages, has conjunctions but some of the most common ones are 'on loan' from other word classes. Here are just three examples:

because আমি চিন্তা করছি কারণ তোমার কোনও খবর পাই নি।
I am worried because I haven't heard from you.

The word for *because* কারণ is simply a noun with no syntactically connecting function.

either - or হয় তুমি বইটা পড়বে না হয় তাকে ফেরত দেবে।
Either read the book or give it back to him.

হয় - না হয় are 3rd person present tense forms of হওয়া *be, become, happen*. Literally, the sentence means *it happens you will read... it doesn't happen you will give...*

Again, there is to English ears a lack of syntactic linking which is not felt in Bengali.

if - then

সে যদি আগে বলতে তাহলে আমি এই ভুল করতাম না।

If he had told me before I wouldn't have made this mistake.

তাহলে, which is translatable with *then* in this context is a conditional participle meaning *if this is so* and is therefore a repetition of the conditional conjunction যদি *if*.

These are examples for individual conjunctions or the words which stand in for them. A more significant factor in the linking of sentences in Bengali is the use, wherever possible, of non-finite verb forms, eg

- simultaneous events can be expressed by using the present participle:

আমি চিঠি লিখতে লিখতে সে আসল।

He came when I was writing a letter.

- consecutive events employ the perfective participle:

সে রান্না করে বান্ধাদের খাওয়াবে।

She will cook and then feed the children.

- the conditional participle followed by ও can express *although*

ট্রেনটা ধরতে না পারলেও আমাদের দেরি হল না।

Although we missed the train we were not late.

- cause can be expressed through verbal nouns in the locative

রীতা মায়ের চাকরি ছাড়ায় খুব খুশি হয়েছিল।

Rita was very happy because her mother was giving up her job. (Das, p 84)

Poly-functionality is thus a typical feature of Bengali syntax ranging from one-to-one word linking to complex sentence structuring. Its effects in terms of 'character' of the language is twofold and, to some extent, contradictory. On the one hand it results in syntactic compactness, conciseness, absence of redundancy but adds, on the other hand, a quality of semantic oscillation. This is apparent in structures like the perfective participle, but goes a lot further than individual structures. A simple phrase like আমি গিয়ে lit: *I, having gone*, for instance, has a semantic potential (temporal, circumstantial, causal etc) which is not easily matched in other languages.

7. Passives

The existence of passive structures is assumed and referred to by a number of authors, but there is no clear understanding of what passive means in Bengali or even whether it exists. Klaiman refers to the passive as 'one of the most extensively discussed, yet poorly defined topics in linguistics'. (*Volitionality*, p 63) These theoretical discussions centre around structures which have a passive sense but do not have the syntactic feature of object raising. Structures like this exist in many languages, including Bengali. In order to include them, Comrie introduced the term 'impersonal passive'. This term has undergone some changes and Trask, for instance, considers impersonal passives as 'most typically derived from intransitive verbs, though not exclusively so' (p 136). Before we get caught up in definitional terminology, let us look at some of the Bengali structures.

7.1 derived from active sentences

In English only sentences containing a transitive verb with an object can be passivised. An English passive sentence is derived from an active one by dropping the subject (or adding it in a prepositional phrase with *by*), raising the object to the subject position, and changing the active verb form to the appropriate form of the verb *be* plus a past participle, eg

He sold the car → The car was sold (by him).

The great majority of English passive sentences have an equivalent active sentence which is considered to be the original or unmarked source sentence. A sentence like *Rome was not built in a day* is an example for a passive without an underlying active sentence simply because there is no candidate for a subject in an active sentence.

The same process of derivation is also possible in Bengali. The verb changes to a verbal noun and a finite form of হওয়া *be*.

সে গাড়িটা বিক্রি করেছে। → গাড়িটা বিক্রি করা হয়েছে।

The agent (subject in the active sentence) can be added by using the postposition দ্বারা *by, through*, eg তার দ্বারা *by him* but in practice this is not very common. The derivational process from active to passive can be seen more clearly in an example with an animate object:

তারা চোরটাকে ধরল। → চোরটাকে ধরা হল।

They caught the thief. → The thief was caught.

We can see from this that the English object raising (see above) does not happen in Bengali. The object remains object and instead the verb in its nominal form becomes the subject. These type of derivational passive formations are quite possible in Bengali, and McLeod takes them as formulaic. But there is rather more to Bengali passives than just this.

7.2 with intransitive verbs

In Bengali intransitive verbs can be passivised, eg

7.2.1.a) active আমি কালকে যাব। *I will go tomorrow*, can be rendered as

7.2.1.b) passive আমার কালকে যাওয়া হবে। lit: *My going will be (occur) tomorrow.*

The syntactic process from a) to b) is significantly different here, in that the subject is changed to a possessive and the verbal noun forms the sentence subject. This alone shows that the syntactic and semantic properties of 'passives' are not the same in Bengali as in English. The traditional grammatical definition of passives as derived structures where the subject is not the agent but the recipient of an action is not valid in sentences with a verbal noun subject. A somewhat different and less syntax-related definition is given for German passives in the Duden Grammatik. German shares with Bengali the ability to form passives from intransitive verbs, though the syntactic realisation of these passives is quite different from Bengali. Active and passive sentences (in the Duden definition) have opposing perspectives in that active sentences look from an agent's point of view, passive sentences look at the event itself without any agent being involved. In this sense sentence 7.2.1.b) is acceptable as a passive sentence, but a grammatical category cannot be defined on the basis of perspective. There are a host of

other structures in Bengali which have the same perspective (away from the agent) but cannot be considered passive because they fail to fulfil certain syntactic criteria (see 7.7)

7.3 Sanskrit past participles

There is a group of 'passive adjectives' (McLeod), which can combine with forms of হওয়া to form passive sentences. These are Sanskrit in origin and are derived from verbs or nouns. They are limited in number, ie the structure is no longer productive. The forms of হওয়া are not restricted to third person use but agree with the sentence subjects. This throws some doubt on their status as passives. A decision on this is based on whether passives are defined by syntactic or by semantic criteria. But let us look at the examples first.

দৃষ্ট	<i>seen</i>	as in	7.3.1	আমি দৃষ্ট হলাম।	<i>I was seen.</i>
কথিত	<i>spoken</i>	as in	7.3.2	এটা কথিত হয়।	<i>This is said. (McLeod, p 62)</i>

Anderson (p 24) gives:

7.3.3	তা নষ্ট হল।	<i>That has been destroyed.</i>
7.3.4	আমি উন্নতি হয়েছি। [sic]	<i>I have become exalted. [sic]</i>

The sentence is unusual in that the adjective উন্নত *developed* would be more common. The translation is somewhat eccentric. The sentence simply means: *I have improved.*

7.3.5	তিনি এই পদে নিযুক্ত হবেন।	<i>He will be appointed to this post.</i>
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Other such adjectives are (from Milne and McLeod):

লিখিত	<i>written</i>	সেবিত	<i>served</i>	দত্ত	<i>given</i>
বিনষ্ট	<i>destroyed</i>	সৃষ্ট	<i>created</i>	রক্ষিত	<i>protected</i>
অভিষিক্ত	<i>anointed</i>	কৃত	<i>done</i>	উক্ত	<i>spoken</i>
পতিত	<i>fallen</i>	মত্ত	<i>intoxicated</i>	গীত	<i>sung</i>

In the given examples all the verb forms are from হওয়া and are in agreement with the subject. I suspect that forms of আছি- are also possible in sentences with a stative (resultative) aspect, eg

7.3.6	চিঠিটা লিখিত আছে।	<i>The letter is written.</i>
7.3.7	পাতাগুলো পতিত আছে।	<i>The leaves are lying fallen.</i>

Semantically, these sentences are equivalent to structures with regular verbal adjectives or past passive participles like

7.3.8	কথাটা দেওয়া হয়েছে।	<i>The promise has been made.</i>
		lit: <i>The word has been given.</i>
7.3.9	চা ঢালা আছে।	<i>The tea is poured.</i>

The passive character of these structures is undeniable. If we want to accept them as passives, we have to keep in mind that these are personal structures with subject-verb agreement. Although this may pose a potential problem, it could prove useful in the attempt to separate passives from impersonal structures.

7.4 passives with পড়া

Anderson gives these examples for passives with পড়া *fall*, expressing 'sudden or violent action in the passive' (p 24)

- 7.4.1 সে মারা পড়ল। *He died suddenly.*
 7.4.2 তারা ঘেরা পড়ল। *They were suddenly surrounded.*
 7.4.3 চর ধরা পড়ল। *The thief was caught.*

Smith also mentions this structure 'resembling a passive' (p 143) with the following examples:

- 7.4.4 ট্রেনে কাটা পড়ে তিনজন লোক মারা যায়।
Three people were run over by a train and died.
 7.4.5 গাড়ি চাপা পড়াও বিচিত্র নয়।
Even getting run over by a car is nothing unusual.

All of these sentences sound possible, but I do not consider them to be very common. There is no question that they are passive in character. The number of verbs which combine with পড়া in this way, however, is quite restricted and so I would not classify this as a general passive, but record these uses as a lexical entry under the verbs concerned.

7.5 যাওয়া - passives

From আমি দৃষ্ট হলাম। *I was seen*, it is only a short step to

- 7.5.1a) আমি দেখা যাই। *I can be seen.*

Both Chatterji and Anderson spend a fair amount of verbal energy on discussing this structure in comparison with the more modern

- 7.5.1b) আমাকে দেখা যায়। *I can be seen.*

The first structure (7.5.1a) is syntactically interesting because it can be seen as a case of object raising. There is no direct active equivalent from which this sentence could be derived because the semantic component of possibility cannot be expressed with the verb যাওয়া *go* in active sentences, but in the widest sense a sentence like

- 7.5.1c) কেউ আমাকে দেখে। *Someone sees me.*

can be postulated and the raising operation from আমাকে (object) to আমি (subject) with the verb in first person agreement can be shown (7.5.1a)). It is not immediately clear to me what the syntactic relationship between the verbal noun/verbal adjective and the finite verb is and why this should be considered a passive at all, given comparable sentences like

- 7.5.2 আমি মারা যাই। *I die.*

which I do not consider a passive. My knowledge of diachronic language changes is, however, not sufficient to take on Chatterji! If we accept this operation of object raising we have a case of a passive which fits with the narrow syntactic definition of English passives. This is probably the reason that Chatterji and Anderson pay so much attention to it but, as far as I know, this structure is no longer used in modern Bengali.

Sentence 7.5.1b) is of more immediate interest as this type of sentence is very common in modern Bengali and is, in fact, widely accepted as a genuine passive structure.

Anderson refers to this [verbal noun + 3rd person of যাওয়া] first as an impersonal structure, then as an impersonal passive. This is logically quite accurate but in our quest for a differentiation between passives and impersonal structures we have to mind our terminology. I cannot resist quoting Anderson's explanation of the Bengali structure as a priceless example of linguistic not-quite-parallel thinking: 'Impersonal verbs are a very common feature of the language, and one which it is difficult to explain to Englishmen from whose tongue this device is practically absent. The construction resembles the Latin vocatur ad arma; magna voce vocandum est; itur; pugnatum est; nobis invidetur. An even better parallel is the phrase Bellovacis persuaderi non poterat, which could be literally translated into Bengali thus: Bellovacিকে বুঝাইতে পারা গেল না' (p28f). Englishmen 'from whose tongue this device is practically absent', the Bengali and the Latin, will not be much enlightened by this!

Here are Anderson's examples (all p 29f) which do clarify the situation:

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|--------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 7.5.3 | এই রাস্তা দিয়ে চলা যাক। | <i>By this road let it be gone.</i> |
| 7.5.4 | শুনা যায় যে তিনি আসবেন। | <i>It is heard that he will come.</i> |
| 7.5.5 | দেখা গেল যে সে আর উঠে পারে না। | <i>It was seen that he is no longer able to rise.</i> |
| 7.5.6 | দেখতে পাওয়া যায় যে সে আর আসবে না। | <i>It can be seen that she will not come again.</i> |
| 7.5.7 | কিছু কিছু জানতে পাওয়া যায়। | <i>To some extent it can be known.</i> |
| 7.5.8 | এরূপ বলা যায় না। | <i>It is not thus said.</i> |
| 7.5.9 | জিজ্ঞাসা করা যাবে। | <i>It shall be questioned.</i> |
| 7.5.10 | আজ খাওয়া যাবে না। | <i>Today it shall not be eaten.</i> |

A better translation for this last sentence would be: *It won't be edible today.*

Anderson gives the following sentences to show that this structure can also be used 'with transitive verbs'. In fact, all of the above except for 7.5.3 contain transitive verbs, although in 7.5.8 and 7.5.10 the direct objects are omitted and in 7.5.4 to 7.5.6 the subordinate clauses with যে function as direct objects. What makes the transitivity more noticeable in the following sentences is the presence of an animated and pronominalised (except in 7.5.14) direct object:

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|--------|---|--|
| 7.5.11 | সে এতো চঞ্চল যে তাকে সামলাতে পারা যায় না। | <i>He is so fickle that it is not possible to control him.</i> |
| 7.5.12 | স বড় বোকা তাকে কিছুই সেখানো যায় না।। | <i>He is very foolish, there is no teaching him anything.</i> |
| 7.5.13 | মেয়েটির বারো বছর হয়েছে, বিবাহ না দিলে তাকে আর ঘরে রাখা যায় না। | <i>The girl is twelve years old; if she is not given in marriage there is no keeping her in the house any longer.</i> |
| 7.5.14 | এতো বিলম্ব করলে ট্রেন আর ধরা যাবে না। | <i>If you delay so much the train any longer will not be caught.</i>
(better: <i>it won't be possible to catch the train.</i>) |

Most, but not all, of Anderson's translations contain the possibility component which to me seems to be the characteristic feature of the যাওয়া passive, although Anderson makes no express mention of it.

Perhaps this is a fairly recent feature - Anderson's article was written in 1913, before Chatterji - while the structure itself is, in fact, considerably older than passive structures with হওয়া (Klaiman, p 72).

7.6 the derivation issue

Although the passive is, as Klaiman shows, a much discussed topic as far as object raising or subject deletion is concerned, there seems to be a tacit and unchallenged agreement that all passive sentences are derived from active sentences. I do not think that this is true in Bengali.

As an example for passive derivation in Bengali Seely gives:

7.6.1 a) active আমি তা বলি। *I say that.*

7.6.1 b¹) passive তা বলা হয়। *That is said.* (p 129)

If we add the supposedly suppressed agent আমি *I* in sentence b)

7.6.1 b²) তা আমার দ্বারা বলা হয়। *That is said by me,*

we end up with a somewhat dubious sentence. The sentence is not ungrammatical, but there is no obvious reason to use it when the active আমি তা বলি। *I say that,* is so much simpler. The situation becomes clearer with the next example:

7.6.2 a) active সে ওখানে বসে। *He sits there.*

7.6.2.b) passive ওখানে বসা যায়। lit: *It can be sat there.* [sic]

Klaiman gives this example to show a process of 'omission of the core argument', in this case the subject সে *he* in sentence b). She says: 'The basic verb is nominalized and followed by a finite form of the verb যা- *go*. However, in b) this verb does not have the conventional lexical sense [namely *go*], rather, it serves as a grammatical marker, signaling omission of the basic S [the subject সে]. The result is a structure in which S is suppressed, or a subjectless clause' (Klaiman, *Grammatical Voice*, p 6).

The Bengali structure of a verbal noun + a 3rd person form of যাওয়া *go* is one of the two structures which I think justify the use of the term passive in Bengali - the other one being the parallel structure with হওয়া *be*, as shown in Seely's example (sentence 7.6.1). Sentence 7.6.2.b) is not, as Klaiman would have it, a product of suppressing a subject and it is not subjectless. In the two sentence pairs given by Seely and Klaiman the 'passive' versions are, in fact, syntactically quite unrelated to the active a) sentences or as unrelated as, for instance, the two English sentences *He sits there*, and *It is possible to sit there* are to one another. In Klaiman's sentence b) the verbal noun is the subject and the 3rd person form of যাওয়া, while it does not retain its original meaning *go*, is rather more than just a grammatical marker. It has a semantic component of possibility, but, more importantly, it is a full verb and forms the sentence predicate. If we drop the optional adverb এখানে in sentence b) we have what Bykova would call a two peak sentence of subject and predicate meaning literally *the sitting goes*. The semantic dimension of possibility can be seen as a simple extension of the meaning *go*. A similar, though syntactically more restricted, structure exists, for instance, in German where es geht nicht lit: *it goes not* means simply *it is not possible*.

My statement that যাওয়া in such sentences is a full verb can be seen as controversial. Terms such as 'dummy verbs', 'auxiliaries', 'mere grammatical markers' tend to be used in a rather indiscriminate way and are not clearly defined. To simplify the matter, it may be reasonable to assume that a finite verb form in a sentence with no other verb forms is a full verb and constitutes the sentence predicate. This does not solve the semantic issues concerning যাওয়া in sentence 7.6.2 b) but it clears up the syntactic confusion.

In her discussion on যা- and হ- passives Klaiman states: 'The two passives differ as regards the fate of the underlying subject. In যা- passives the subject is obligatorily deleted' (*Volitionality*, p 73). There may be historic issues at play here which I am not qualified to comment on, but from a synchronic point of view it seems absurd even to postulate an underlying subject. A simple sentence like

7.6.3 কবিতা বোঝা যায় না। *The poem cannot be understood*

is used in contexts where the 'agent' is irrelevant. It does not necessarily imply that no one can understand the poem, but that is precisely the point: the sentence focus is turned away from a potential interpreter of poetry to the poem itself. These যা- passives are, in my opinion, impersonal structures par excellence, and they do not need an obligatorily deleted underlying subject to define them.

Semantically - this is a step onto thin ice - the Bengali structure [verbal noun + 3rd person of হওয়া] resembles sentences of the type *something happened, something occurred*, which are not passive structures in English. This may be sufficient reason for some linguists to say that passives do not exist in Bengali. Verbs like *happen* and *occur* can be considered impersonal in English as they do not occur with animate subjects and are event-focussed in meaning. Bengali does not have this type of impersonal verb. The situation may become clearer when we look at some sentence types with হওয়া as the main verb and their literal translations - all of these sentences contain the same element of something *happening* or *occurring*.

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 7.6.4 আমি খুশি হয়েছি। | lit: <i>I have become happy.</i> |
| 7.6.5 ভাত নষ্ট হয়েছে। | lit: <i>The rice has become spoilt.</i> |
| 7.6.6 আমার অসুখ হয়েছে। | lit: <i>My illness has happened.</i> |
| 7.6.7 আমাদের ঝগড়া হয়েছে। | lit: <i>Our quarrel has occurred.</i> |
| 7.6.8 তার সঙ্গে দেখা হয়েছে। | lit: <i>The seeing with him has occurred.</i> |

Are any or all of these passive sentences? A decision on this depends entirely on definition and demonstrates very clearly how relative and to some extent arbitrary grammatical categorisation is. In the chapter on non-finite verb forms there was some discussion on the nominal and/or verbal character of verbal nouns (p 22). My impression here is that there is a qualitative difference between, for instance, the following two sentences. The non-idiomatic, literal translation is given to show this difference:

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| আমার অসুখ হয়েছে। | <i>My illness has occurred</i> |
| আমার কাজ করা হয়েছে। | <i>My working has occurred.</i> |

In as far as the verbal noun retains its verbal character, there is a difference between the emergence of a state অসুখ *illness* and the occurrence of a process কাজ করা *work*. We need to establish whether this difference is sufficient to justify a separation of these sentences into different grammatical categories.

7.7 the passive as a grammatical category

Passive structures contrast not only with active structures but they also have to be distinguished from other structures whose semantic focus is an event rather than an agent. The terminological difference between 'impersonal structures' and 'passives' is significant. The term 'impersonal structure' can, in principle, be defined in a purely semantic sense and be applied to any sentence which does not have an agent subject. This would mean that impersonal structures are not restricted to any particular syntactic pattern. For any given structure to be considered a passive, however, the structure has to fit into a recurring, systematic syntactic pattern. The [verbal noun + 3rd person form of হওয়া or যাওয়া] structures constitute such a pattern and, more importantly, the great majority of Bengali verbs can participate in them. Exceptions that spring to mind are the incomplete আছি- *be, have* and হওয়া itself, though হওয়া can be used in combinations with যাওয়া, eg

আবার খুশি হওয়া যাবে। *It will be possible to be happy again.*

Smith lists these uses not under 'passives' but under 'Compounds with the verbal noun', though he does use the term 'passive' there. Seely confidently calls the হওয়া structure 'the passive, pure and simple' (p 129) Bykova acknowledges that the structures with হওয়া and যাওয়া 'largely possess meanings common, for example, to the Russian passive' and then says 'but they are not passive' (p 146). She gives no further explanation but we can see from this that opinions on what constitutes a passive in Bengali are divided.

7.8 personalised passives and ভাব-বাচ

Passive sentences, as mentioned above, focus on an event rather than an agent. This is certainly true for the structures with হওয়া. But what about structures with যাওয়া? They do not so much focus on an event, but on a potential event, ie they contain a modal element. I do not see this as a problem. Their modal character does not impinge on their wide syntactic applicability and it does not affect their focus. Rather, it adds to the Bengali passive system an exhilarating semantic/aspective dimension of endless possibilities.

There is, however, one important syntactic difference between passives with হওয়া and passives with যাওয়া, which was briefly mentioned in section 7.6.

In many cases these two structures can be used in exactly the same way, eg

with হওয়া	এখানে মাছ ধরা হয়।	<i>Fish is caught here.</i>
	সব পরে বলা হবে।	<i>Everything will be talked about later.</i>
	কাজ শেষ করা হত।	<i>The work would have been finished.</i>
with যাওয়া	এখানে মাছ ধরা যায়।	<i>Fish can be caught here.</i>
	সব পরে বলা যাবে।	<i>Everything can be talked about later.</i>

কাজ শেষ করা যেত।

The work could have been finished

In intransitive structures with হওয়া genitive (possessive) modifiers can be added to the subject (the verbal noun), as in তার যাওয়া হবে। lit: *his going will be:* *He will go.*

আমার নামা হয়েছে। lit: *my getting down has been:* *I got down.*

This way of personalising passive structures is not possible with যাওয়া, eg

*আমার যাওয়া যাবে। This gives the structures with যাওয়া an added impersonal component (see 7.6), but I do not see this as a reason not to accept the যাওয়া structures as passives in Bengali and as essentially parallel to the structures with হওয়া.

Interestingly, Anderson in his discourse on verbal nouns views things from the opposite angle. He has no problems with যাওয়া structures, but says about আমার যাওয়া হবে না। *My going will not happen:* 'Such quasi-impersonal constructions are very common in Bengali, constructions in which the attention is drawn rather to the sense, the *bhāv* (ভাব) of the verb, than to its subject. In fact in indigenous grammars, besides the Active and Passive Voices, there is shown a *bhāva-vacya* (ভাববাচ্য) a Sense-Voice, in which the action of the verb is itself practically the subject.' (Anderson, *The Bengali Verb*, p 18)

In this as in many discussions of Bengali verbal categories (eg Bykova, Smith, Milne, Seely), the terminology is rather vague. Are Anderson's reasons for not considering this 'quasi-impersonal construction' as a passive based on the presence of the personal আমার? And, if so, what is a 'real' passive in Bengali?

But before we move on to that, let us have a closer look at what Anderson is saying. The idea of a middle voice category between actives and passives is, of course, quite common - in many European languages this category is assigned to reflexive verbs like *divertirsi to enjoy oneself* and *prepararsi to get ready* in Italian, *se réveiller to wake up* and *se reposer to rest* in French etc. But these cases are really quite different from the Bengali example Anderson gives. The verb, or more accurately the verbal noun, is not just 'practically' the subject. It is the subject and this is the strongest reason why this structure is not a 'quasi-impersonal construction' or should belong to a 'sense-voice' category, but is a passive 'pure and simple', as Seely puts it (p 129). The focus of the sentence is the verbal action and this focus remains even with an added genitive modifier.

For the record I add Bidhubhusan Dasgupta's view of the passive, outlined in his book *Learn Bengali Yourself*. He divides structures into passives (কর্মবাচ্য) and 'intransitive' passives (ভাব-বাচ্য) - the Bengali word ভাব-বাচ্য is given in the Samsad as 'impersonal voice'. In his passive sentences 'the object is prominent and the subject takes কর্তৃক or দ্বারা by' (p 133), eg

যদি কর্তৃক বই পড়া হয়। *A book is read by Jodu.*

In intransitive passive sentences 'the verb is always intransitive and accords neither with the subject nor with the object' (ibid), eg

আমাদ্বারা চলা যায় না। *I am unable to move.*

There are two mistakes here. Firstly, intransitive verbs do not generally have objects, so there is no question of accord and secondly the use of দ্বারা is not restricted to intransitive verbs. What is more

significant than his definitional ideas though is that his example sentences are just that: artificial example sentences from a grammar book! They are highly unnatural and show a worrying detachment from real language.

7.9 Bengali passives

If we want to accept the term passive as applicable to particular Bengali structures - and there is no reason not to - its properties need to be clearly set out.

Bengali passives are similar to English passives in that

- they look at a situation not from an agent but from an event point of view
- they have a regular, productive and well-defined syntactic structure

Bengali passives differ from English passives in that

- they need not be derived from active sentences, ie many Bengali passive sentences do not have direct active equivalents.
- they do not have to have a (suppressed) agent hidden in their deep structure. This is true specifically for passives with যাওয়া which refer to potential rather than real events and are as such agentless.
- in sentences where a derivation can be seen to exist, objects remain objects and are not raised to subject status, eg

আমি তাকে দাওয়াত দিয়েছি। *I have invited him.*

→ তাকে দাওয়াত দেওয়া হয়েছে। *He has been invited.*

This is an example with an indirect object. The same applies to direct objects:

সে আমাকে বাঁচিয়েছে। *He has saved me.*

→ আমাকে বাঁচানো হয়েছে। *I have been saved.*

- they can be formed from intransitive as well as transitive verbs.
- in structures with 3rd person forms of যাওয়া go they refer to possible rather than actual events.

On the basis of this we have two structures for passives in Bengali:

1. sentences with transitive verbs - these can be interpreted as being derived from active sentences. In these sentences the subject of the active sentence is almost invariably suppressed. Their syntactic shape is [object + verbal noun + 3rd person form of হওয়া].
2. sentences with intransitive verbs: the logical subject of the sentence can be added in structures with হওয়া as a genitive modifier of the verbal noun. Structures with যাওয়া cannot take such a modifier. The basic syntactic pattern for these passives is [verbal noun + 3rd person form of হওয়া or যাওয়া].

In both types of sentences the verbal noun forms the grammatical subject. This seems to me to be a crucial factor in the decision on what should or should not be defined as a passive. The reason for this was mentioned earlier: structures with verbal nouns as subjects describe a process rather than a state. Sentences without this feature, such as the structures with Sanskritic participles (7.3.1 - 9) and

sentences of the *happening, occurring* type (7.6.4 - 8) have a passive meaning, but they have neither the aspective dynamics nor the syntactical potential of the হওয়া / যাওয়া structures. A graded scale for primary (with verbal noun + হওয়া / যাওয়া) and secondary (7.3.1ff and 7.6.4ff) passives could be used, but this is just a matter of definitional terminology and is, to a large extent, arbitrary.

8. Impersonal Structures

As we saw earlier (cf Anderson), there is not always a very clear dividing line between passives and impersonal structures. What they have in common is that they do not have an active agent as the subject of a sentence. We have now tentatively defined passives as having a regular syntactic shape, which is a verbal noun as subject (with or without a possessive complement) in connection with a 3rd person form of either হওয়া or যাওয়া.

'Impersonal structures' is a term which, according to Trask's definition, seems to include passives. He says that 'the verb stands in an invariable 3rd person form and the NP which might be regarded as the subject on semantic grounds stands in an oblique case' (p 135). Smith's explanation for Bengali impersonal structures states that 'the verb is always in the third person and the logical subject, when expressed, takes the genitive' (p 114). This does not expressly exclude passives, but it can be assumed that impersonal structures are not syntactically restricted to verbal noun subjects (as passives are) and that the finite verbs involved are not, or not only, হওয়া and যাওয়া.

Semantically, impersonal structures, according to Smith, express emotions (fear, anger, love), mental activities (thinking, wanting), bodily sensations (hunger, illness, fatigue) and possession. This semantic restriction, if it is correct, would mean that passives could not be included in impersonal structures since they are semantically quite unrestricted.

Let us look at some examples starting, as usual, with Smith's classification. Some of these structures have been discussed in previous chapters. All of Smith's example sentences are given on pages 114ff of his book and are marked (S).

8.1 with আছি- *be, be present*

Smith's example sentences can be divided into two separate uses of আছি-, as shown in examples 8.1.1 and 8.1.2:

8.1.1 বাঙলোতে লোক আছে। *There are people in the bungalow.* (S)

This is আছি- in its locative sense (discussed in chapter 5, section 1.2 and 1.3). It should not be listed as an impersonal structure. There is subject-verb agreement as can easily be established if we substitute a first person pronoun for লোক in sentence 8.1.1, eg

8.1.1a) বাঙলোতে আমি আছি। *I am in the bungalow.*

The following use of আছি- is quite different:

8.1.2 আমার দুটো সাধ আছে। *I have two wishes.* (S)

This is the possessive or existential function of আছি- and is always expressed as an impersonal structure.

8.2 with হওয়া *be, become*

8.2.1 ছেলটাকে আমার বেশ পছন্দ হয়েছে। *I liked the boy very much. (S)*

8.2.2 খুব রাগ হয়েছিল আমার। *I became very angry (S)*

These are structures with conjunct verbs. They are combinations of abstract nouns or adjectives with what Klaiman calls dummy verbs (হওয়া, করা, আছি). Smith has separated out the uses with হওয়া here to show their impersonal features. A closer investigation of these structures is likely to show that Smith's semantic caveat on emotions, mental activities and bodily functions is too narrow, eg

8.2.3 বিয়ের বাড়ি যাওয়ার ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে।

It has been arranged to go to the wedding.

As can be seen from the three sentences (8.2.1 -3) this structure varies in complexity. In 8.2.1 we have a direct object, in 8.2.3 a genitive verbal noun, governed by the respective conjunct verbs. Sentence 8.2.2 represents almost (খুব *very* is an optional adverbial) the basic form of this structure, which is [noun (with optional genitive modifier or experiencer subject) + 3rd person form of হওয়া *be, become*].

This takes us back to the sentences of the *happening/ occurring* type discussed in section 7.6, eg

7.6.6 আমার অসুখ হয়েছে। *lit: My illness has happened.*

7.6.7 আমাদের ঝগড়া হয়েছে। *lit: Our quarrel has occurred.*

These sentences are more appropriately placed here than under passive sentences.

Sentence 8.2.1 is an example for the type of structure which makes linguists question the concept of transitivity in Bengali and other South Asian languages. পছন্দ হওয়া *enjoy* is an overtly intransitive verb which can take, as in this sentence, a direct object. Research into the transitivity status of such verbs in Tamil (notably by K.Paramasivam, *Effectivity and Causativity in Tamil*, Trivandrum: Dravidian Linguistics Association, University of Chicago, 1977) suggests that dividing the verbal system into 'effective' vs 'affective' verbs may provide a more accurate classification than the traditional transitive/intransitive split. The same is likely to be true for Bengali. This links up with the concept of 'experiencer subjects' also, and seems to me to be an area of enormous potential for future research. Mimi Klaiman in her study on volitionality has taken some initial steps in this direction.

8.3 with লাগা *touch, be attached to*

8.3.1 আমার বেশ মজা লাগছে। *I'm having great fun. (S)*

8.3.2 গরম লাগে? *Are you hot? (S)*

8.3.3 আমার শুধু তোকে ভাল লাগে। *I like only you (S).*

8.3.4 এটুকু বুঝতে অনেক সময় লেগেছে।

It has taken a great deal of time to understand this little bit. (S)

The verb লাগা *lit: touch, be in contact with* is, alongside আছি-, the most common Bengali verb used in impersonal structures and has a variety of meanings. These structures are so prevalent that লাগা is often thought of as an impersonal verb, but active sentences are perfectly normal, eg

8.3.5 আমার সঙ্গে লাগ কেন? *Why do you pick a quarrel with me?*

(Milne, p 420)

8.3.6 গাড়ি কাদার মধ্যে লেগে গেছে। *The car got stuck in the mud.*

8.3.7 শব্দটা এখানে ঠিক লেগেছে। *The word is quite appropriate here.*

(Milne, p 419)

8.3.8 আমি কাজে লেগে আছি। *I am engrossed in my work.*

With preceding infinitives লাগা means *begin*, eg

8.3.9 আমরা কথা বলতে লাগব। *We shall start talking.*

Smith's examples (8.3.1 - 8.3.4) show the semantic properties of feelings (8.3.1), bodily sensations (8.3.2), like and dislike (in connection with adjectives like ভাল and খারাপ) (8.3.3) and the concept of taking time or money (8.3.4)

In addition to these লাগা can express

taste 8.3.10 ওষুধ তিভা লাগে। *The medicine tastes bitter.*

need 8.3.11 তোমার আর কি লাগবে? *What else do you need?*

impact 8.3.12 আমার তাহাকে খুব মনে লেগেছে। *I like him very much.* (Milne, 421)

Literally, this (8.3.12) sentence means: *He (acc) has struck in my mind*, and is thus different from sentence 8.3.3. In both these sentences, again, we have a direct object.

8.4 with চলা *move, go*

8.4.1 মিত্তির সায়ের ছাড়া আমাদের চলবে না।

We won't be able to manage without Mr Mittir. (S)

This is an impersonal structure with চলা which is used predominantly in negative sentences in the future tense meaning *it will not do*. হওয়া can also be used with the same meaning. These structures have been discussed in connection with preceding conditional participles in chapter 1, p 30).

8.5 with করা *do* and পাওয়া *get, receive*

8.5.1 তোর ভয় করে না? *Aren't you afraid?* (S)

8.5.2 আমার ভীষণ খিদে পাচ্ছে। *I am terribly hungry.* (S)

These are idiomatic impersonal uses of two very common verbs and I must admit that I was inordinately pleased to find them in Smith's book. I have been aware of these structures for a long time, but was uneasy using them myself, opting for equivalents with লাগা or for active sentences instead; but finding a written 'rule' for them will boost my confidence!

There is no difference in meaning between sentence 8.5.1 and the 'active' তুই ভয় করিস না?, but I suspect that the impersonal uses for both করা and পাওয়া are more idiomatic than their active equivalents. The range of nouns/adjectives which can be used in these structures is severely restricted. Words like ভয় *fear*, ইচ্ছা *wish*, ঘুম *sleep*, অসুখ *illness*, বমি *nausea*, শীত *cold*, হাসি *smile* etc are acceptable. Smith lists the meanings as emotions (fear, desire), illness and sensations such as fatigue, hunger, thirst and sorrow. These impersonal uses of করা and পাওয়া seem to be defined on purely semantic grounds and are therefore not easy to pick up for syntax-oriented foreigners.

8.6 other impersonal structures

We have three more impersonal structures to go, whose internal syntactical patterns differ from those mentioned above.

- আসা-যাওয়া

The combination of the two verbs আসা *come* and যাওয়া *go* is used to express indifference. In my experience, this structure is more often cited in grammar books than used in speech, but when it is used, there is some variation in the actual verb forms involved. Smith gives the following versions (p 119):

with perfective participle + 3rd person simple present

তাতে তোর কিছু এসে যায় না। *That has nothing to do with you.*

both forms in 3rd person simple past

তাতে কারোর কিছু এলো গেলো না। *That didn't matter to anyone.*

both forms in 3rd person simple present

লোকটির বয়সে আমার কিছু যায় আসে না। *The man's age doesn't concern me.*

I am not very familiar with the structuring in Smith's first example [perfective participle + 3rd person simple present], but the example shows that these structures are perhaps not as common as grammar books would want us to think. The English sentence *That has nothing to do with you* is much more likely to be given in Bengali simply as

তাতে তোমার কিছু নেই। lit: *there is nothing in this for you.*

As far as classification is concerned, I would consider this an idiomatic, impersonal use of the two verbs involved, but not determinative for Bengali impersonal structures.

- inf + 3rd person of হওয়া and আছ-

These structures are used to express (with হওয়া) obligation or (with আছ-) permission. The structures with হওয়া add a twist to the concept of dative (in Bengali genitive) subjects in that here we have subjects in the object case. Examples and a more detailed discussion of these structures can be found in chapter 5, page 170 (আছ-) and 187 (হওয়া). The existence of the 'accusative subject' and to some extent the infinitive are stumbling blocks in our quest for a uniform syntactic shape of impersonal structures, but this is unavoidable. The [infinitive + হওয়া] structure can be used with all Bengali verbs and is very common.

- no subject

Only Chatterji mentions this structure. It expresses 'a general prohibitive or exhortative force' (p 919). I have an emotional attachment to this structure as my first awareness of it was of (village) mothers talking to their toddlers and I concluded, wrongly, that it was a kind of baby talk. Sentences have a 3rd person present tense verb but no subject. Semantically, they are closest to structures with impersonal pronouns like *Man tut das nicht* (German) or *On ne le fait pas* (French). Syntactically, the structure could be interpreted as a pro-drop use with a zero impersonal pronoun,

but that would be stretching its applicability. It is generally used in the simple present negative. Translations are probably best given as English imperatives:

এটা খায় না।	<i>Don't eat that!</i>
আগুনে হাত দেয় না।	<i>Don't put your hand in the fire!</i>
ভাইকে মারে না।	<i>Don't hit your brother!</i>

Chatterji gives these examples

রবিবার দিন মাছ খায় না।	<i>One shouldn't eat fish on Sundays.</i>
জ্বর হলে নায় না।	<i>One shouldn't bathe when there is fever.</i>

Another very common example for this use is with the verb বলা *say, speak*, eg

বড় ভাইকে দাদা বলে।	<i>One calls one's older brother dada.</i>
বাংলায় কি বলে?	<i>How do you say in Bengali?</i>

Neither imperatives nor Chatterji's *should* translations adequately convey the tenor of these structures. They do have the implication of something that *isn't done*, ie *one doesn't hit one's brother* etc, but at the same time they are more direct, more like the French and German examples and less moralistic than structures with উচিত *ought, should* would be.

This leaves us with the not surprising result that impersonal structures are not uniform in syntactic pattern. We have established that Bengali does not have impersonal verbs as such (as the English *seem, happen, occur*) but that a limited number of verbs (আছি, লাগা, হওয়া and to a lesser extent চলা, করা, পাওয়া) have impersonal uses which often have a modal force.

These uses, particularly with the verbs করা *do* and পাওয়া *get, receive* cannot be explained by syntactic criteria alone. The semantic aura around impersonal structures, the concept of 'experiencer' vs 'doer' subjects and linguistic notions of transitivity in Bengali are all areas where we need to recognize that syntax and semantics do not offer alternative ways of looking at language but are interlinked at the basis, ie the definitional level.

SUMMARY

The first part of this chapter is in itself a kind of summary, so I will restrict my comments to the questions on passives and impersonal structures. At the beginning of the discussion on impersonal structures (p225) there was a question about the extent of overlap between passives and impersonal structures. This can now be cleared up. We have seen that Smith's semantic restriction of impersonal structures to emotions, mental activities and bodily sensations is too narrow. Sentences with আছি, for instance, have an almost infinite semantic range and cannot be considered anything other than impersonal structures.

In a very general and non-syntactic way we can say that impersonal structures are about experienced states, passives are about processes. Without going into the hierarchy of these two terms, I see no reason to draw a strict dividing line between them. The question of perspective towards or away from an agent, which seemed so important at the beginning of this discussion, has now become almost meaningless. Semantically, Bengali impersonal structures can be used to express highly personal experiences such as আমার শীত করছে। *I am feeling cold* or আমার ভয় হচ্ছে। *I am afraid*. The effect of

this has nothing to do with perspective (regarding agents) but emphasises the state of non-volitional (to pay Klaiman her due!) affectedness or experience. Passive structures are a more neutral syntactical device to express a process of *happening* or *occurring*, with or without a personal 'experiencer' involved. On the basis of this, I think we can now move to the following definitions:

- The term 'impersonal structures' can be applied to a sub-group of Bengali verbal structures whose characteristic feature is the absence of a nominative active subject. Impersonal structures can have a variety of syntactic shapes. Most, but not all, of them have a genitive subject and a 3rd person verb form.
- In connection with particular verbs such as হওয়া *be, become* and লাগা *be attached to feelings*, bodily sensations and experiences are expressed in impersonal structures. The genitive subject in these structures is, semantically, an experiencer subject.
- In structures with আছি *exist, be present* stative expressions of existence or possession have an unlimited semantic range.
- Passives are impersonal structures of a special type. They are syntactically defined (as above) and semantically unrestricted. The semantic focus in passive sentences is on the event or process described. A personal (genitive) subject may be present.

The two main considerations emerging from this chapter are:

- the link between syntactic and semantic criteria, which is ever-present in our language structures and needs to become much more central to our research methods
- the importance of defining grammatical categories and their parameters precisely for the individual language without assuming an a priori understanding or a universal applicability of a term like 'passive'

This point links in with the question of linguistics as a science. In discussing particularly semantic criteria our (meta)language becomes automatically more tentative and careful. This is entirely appropriate when we set out to describe aspects of meaning. There should be nothing vague, however, about defining syntactic categories and we should (scientifically!) assume that traditional concepts need to be re-examined, re-applied and perhaps re-defined.

CONCLUSIONS

Summaries and suggestions for further research are given at the end of each chapter, so I would like to use this space for some more general remarks.

All interlingual activity, be it language learning or teaching, translation or preparation for a new grammar, is an enterprise with a twofold underlying aim, namely an increase in communication and a breaking down of barriers. In this enterprise, the overcoming of language barriers is only a first step.

My own awareness of this started with a surprise. When I set out to write my colloquial Bengali dictionary I encountered surprised reactions to something that I considered important and perfectly normal: making colloquial language accessible to people who wanted to learn it. The surprise came from two directions. Those who were, in effect, teaching me Bengali suddenly said 'Oh, but you can't write that in a book!' Those who were going to publish my book thought it a very original idea to spend linguistic skill and determination on ordinary language.

Their reactions, in turn, surprised me. In Europe we have had colloquial dictionaries for decades and we have discarded hierarchical ideas about what constitutes a worthy research object to such an extent that, nowadays, investigating people's shopping habits is called research. There is still a wide gap between what Bengalis perceive as learned, literary and 'beautiful' Bengali on the one hand and ordinary, spoken language on the other. This deep-rooted value judgment on language is one of the obstacles that need to be overcome. I must confess now with shame to a certain irritation at the ubiquitous references to Tagore whenever I mentioned my plans for writing a book on Bengali. This irritation was, of course, partly a cover-up for my ignorance of literary Bengali; and this is where we come back to the need for breaking down barriers.

Here are some of the areas where I see these barriers still very much in place:

- literary and colloquial language

What is the real Bengali? This question, as it relates to grammatical analysis, invariably pushes against the barrier between literary and colloquial language. In linguistic research there is always discussion and disagreement on whether we should concentrate our efforts on literary language as the better or colloquial language as the more real alternative for our research purposes. This discussion is based on the premise of an either-or situation, on the assumption that if a) is right then b) must be wrong and vice versa. Having to choose between right and wrong, or between better and worse, is sometimes unavoidable, but this is not such a situation. Indeed, to choose between different manifestations of the same language for our research would be like defining a human being in terms of only one of the roles that most of us have, such as husband, father, teacher, colleague etc. If we want to arrive at an accurate description of Bengali language structure, we must look at it in all its different shapes. That is why a pooling of expertise and cooperation among Bengali linguists of different backgrounds is essential - no single one of us can do this work on their own.

- syntax and semantics

Just as there is a (sometimes arbitrary) split between types of language, so there are well-defined divisions within the discipline of linguistics, divisions which have to be kept separate at all times. It is, of course, important to be aware of the difference between, for instance, syntactic and semantic criteria. But in writing the preceding chapters I have become aware again and again of semantic factors encroaching on syntactic categories. This was noticeable in the attempt to define Bengali passives and, more particularly, in Klaiman's introduction of volitionality into the interpretation of dative subjects and impersonal structures. Klaiman's book has a number of shortcomings and mistakes, but her leap from syntactic to semantic criteria was at the time a courageous and, as far as I know, unique initiative in breaking through inter-linguistic barriers. Not only does her interpretation explain a grammatical structure which is clearly outside purely syntactic criteria, but it opens up new possibilities for the consideration of language structures from more than just one angle.

- hypothesis and description

Spectacular new insights can be achieved by proving particular linguistic hypotheses. Nothing is more satisfying to a syntactician than establishing a grammatical rule and finding that it works. The reason that this type of high-flying success is not yet at our fingertips in Bengali grammar research is that the plodding, often mechanical and time consuming ground-work needs to be done first. I've had plenty of times where I began to doubt my sanity after a morning spent looking for example sentences with particular postpositions or time adverbials. But this is data collecting, and the most exciting theory is worthless without data to test it against. A disparaging attitude to data collecting shows a counterproductive narrow-mindedness in our perception of what constitutes 'real' research. Rashida Begum's work on postpositions can be used as an example for this. Her research results in terms of GB theory, based on a series of tests, are rather predictable, but her comprehensive list of example sentences with postpositions is of immense value for further research in this area.

- Bengali and 'foreign' linguists

In his article *Archaeology of Bangla Grammar* Debaprasad Bandyopadhyay writes with a touch of bitterness: 'All the foreign colony-seekers wrote Bangla Grammar for their own need to interact and colonialise the natives of Bengal. In the title page of Halhed's Bangla grammar, he distinctly affirmed that he wrote this grammar for the sake of Englishmen'.

I must admit that I, as a somewhat non-political linguist, was fascinated by Halhed's grammar and the challenge these 'colony-seekers' faced in writing a grammar of a language they barely knew. Yes, they wrote for their own purposes (and made a lot of mistakes), but it seems unlikely that these early European missionaries wrote their textbooks with the intention of defining the future of Bengali grammar.

Bandyopadhyay makes an important point in showing the development of Bengali grammar research from etymological and philological studies to modern linguistic analysis. But his article, written in 1996, peters out rather disappointingly into a discussion of Suniti Kumar Chatterji's *ভাষা প্রকাশ বাংলা ব্যাকরণ* from 1939.

It is time, I think, that we, Bengali and foreign linguists alike and together, move on from Halhed, Carey, Wenger, even from Chatterji. All of them have made more or less significant contributions to our present language awareness, and there seems little point in grieving over old political or linguistic injustices. Instead, we should try to amend these injustices by finding a way in which we can work together towards a better understanding of Bengali.

- theory and practice

This has been dealt with in the introduction to this thesis and needs no further elaboration in itself but the following points are all, to a greater or lesser extent, linked to it.

- ideas and their application

Scientific and academic research is still often seen as fulfilling its own purpose. It has about it an air of 'purity', which likes to keep a distance from such mundane activities as teaching. I believe very strongly that all academic research should have an aim and a purpose which go beyond the intellectual stimulation of a select few. In language matters in particular, a close cooperation between research and the ground-floor, namely the language teaching, is essential and can be used to mutual advantage. It is easy to see that efficient language teaching benefits from a thorough knowledge of grammar, but researchers, too, can profit from contact with those who are experts at explaining linguistic features in clear and accessible language.

- research and learning materials

This leads on from the previous point to the split between a) grammatical research work which can, at times, be far removed from real language, and b) grammar and course books which are sometimes faulty and sketchy. This type of teaching material is being produced all the time, often for specific learning situations and usually written by dedicated teachers who know a lot about what their students need but little about grammatical issues.

I recently met Mrs Hosne Ara Begum, the author of a new book for learning Bengali *Esho Bangla Porhi*, published by the Bengali Workers' Association in London. This is a well-organised, glossy, illustrated book with beautifully clear Bengali script and interesting stories and dialogue. Clearly Mrs Begum has put a lot of effort into the production of the book and she has a right to be proud of it. The phonetic transcript she uses is unrelated to anything I have ever seen before. Her grammatical explanations are inept and sometimes wrong. The book is like a lovingly prepared, elaborate meal with the main ingredient hopelessly spoilt. This is just one example of many, but for me such an encounter has a heart-breaking poignancy. It makes me more and more convinced

that the availability of a modern, definitive Bengali grammar has become a matter of some urgency.

- linguistic and literary research

In the present situation of work on Bengali we have serious literary research on the one hand and serious linguistic research on the other. There is hardly any link between the two. I was in the fortunate position of doing my essentially linguistic work not in a Linguistics but in a South Asia Department because my aim from the beginning was not to write a linguistic thesis but to work on Bengali grammar. It is always easy to see other people's learning gaps. Linguists will readily agree that 'literature people' with their heads in poetic clouds need more down-to-earth scientific linguistic reality. My always rather shaky belief in the exactness of linguistics as a science has, over the last four years, given way to the recognition that language cannot be captured, categorised and compressed into linguistic compartments and that our research should take into account the possibility of surprises.

As for the 'literature people', I have been greatly impressed and humbled by the careful and diligent dedication, the meticulous attention to linguistic detail, the sure instinct for nuances in form and meaning in their work. They may not know all the technical terminology but, particularly in translation work, they are involved in the nitty-gritty of language as much as any linguist is and they are a good deal less ostentatious about it. This comes under the heading of what is called, I believe, interdisciplinary cross-fertilization. In more ordinary terms it is simply the chance to learn from one another.

'Breaking down barriers' is, in the first instance, an image of destruction, but then we must ask ourselves what created these barriers in the first place and why they continue to exist. Physical barriers exist for two reasons: to keep things apart and to protect from intrusion. This translates, with a bit of a leap, into a) territorialism or possessiveness and b) fear and competitiveness. These are traits which are in direct opposition to our aims in language learning, teaching and research in general, and perhaps particularly in connection with a language like Bengali.

Those of us who have come into contact with Bengali as adults are very aware of the barriers that were broken in the process: the barriers broken by others to allow us access, not only to the language itself but to the cross-cultural experiences and friendships that came with it, but also the barriers we ourselves break by taking an active part in this mind-expanding linguistic adventure. All of our lives have been greatly enriched by our involvement with Bengali. The best way in which we can show our gratitude for this gift of language is to make it accessible to others.

APPENDICES

CHAPTER 1

CONJUNCT VERBS WITH INFINITIVES AND/OR VERBAL NOUNS

combinations with infinitives

অনুরোধ	<i>request</i>	তোমাকে আসতে অনুরোধ করলাম। <i>I asked you to come.</i>
আরম্ভ	<i>beginning</i>	টাকা গুনতে কোন সময় আরম্ভ হবে? <i>When will they (implied) start counting the money.</i>
আরাম	<i>comfort</i>	এমন পথে গাড়ি চালিয়ে যেতে আরাম আছে। <i>There is comfort in driving a car over such a road. (Seely)</i>
কষ্ট	<i>trouble, difficulty</i>	তোমার কি হাটতে কষ্ট হচ্ছে? <i>Are you having difficulty walking? (Klaiman, p 32)</i>
ক্ষতি	<i>harm</i>	যাদের সাময়িক বলতে ক্ষতি নেই। <i>...whom there is no harm calling temporary. (Seely)</i>
ক্ষমতা	<i>power, influence</i>	হরতালটা বাতিল করতে আমার ক্ষমতা নেই। <i>I don't have the power to cancel the strike.</i>
দুঃখ	<i>sadness, regret</i>	তাকে এই অবস্থায় দেখতে আমার দুঃখ লাগে। <i>It makes me sad to see him like this.</i>
দেরি	<i>delay</i>	কলিকাতা পৌঁছাতে আর কত দেরি হবে? <i>How much longer will it take to reach Calcutta? (Smith)</i> বসুন্ধরার বুঝতে দেরি হল না। <i>Basundhara was not slow to comprehend (Seely).</i>
দোষ	<i>fault, harm</i>	স্বামীর সঙ্গে পালাইয়ে যাইতে দোষ কি? <i>What's the harm in running away with one's husband? (Seely)</i>
নিষেধ	<i>prohibition</i>	তোমাকে কথা কহিতে নিষেধ করলাম। <i>I forbade you to speak. (Milne)</i>
বাকি	<i>remainder</i>	কোনও খানেই লোক পাঠাইতে বাকি রহিল না। <i>Nowhere at all did there remain a person to send. (Seely)</i>
ভরসা	<i>confidence</i>	মেয়ে দুটোকে বাড়ীর বার করতে ভরসা হয় না। <i>She didn't have confidence enough to let the two girls out of the house. (Seely)</i>
ভুল	<i>mistake</i>	প্রতিভার ইঙ্গিত বুঝতে ভুল করেছিলেন। <i>He failed to grasp the hint of genius. (Seely)</i>
লজ্জা	<i>embarrassment</i>	তোমাদের কাছে বলতে লজ্জা নেই। <i>I am not ashamed to tell you. (Seely)</i>

শুরু	<i>beginning</i>	সে গত সপ্তায় কাজ করতে শুরু করেছে। <i>He started work last week.</i>
সাহায্য	<i>help</i>	ছেলেবেলার কথাটা বললে হয়ত আমার চরিত্রের একটা দিক বুঝতে সাহায্য করবে। <i>If I speak of my childhood, it will perhaps help to understand one side of my personality. (Satyajit Ray)</i>

combinations with verbal noun

উদ্দেশ্য	<i>purpose</i>	তোমার এখানে আসার উদ্দেশ্য কি? <i>What have you come here for?</i>
উপায়	<i>way, means</i>	আমার আরও টাকা দেওয়ার উপায় নেই। <i>I have no means to give more money.</i>
কারণ	<i>reason, cause</i>	তার এখানে থাকার কারণ কি? <i>Why is he staying here?</i>
নিয়ম	<i>custom</i>	আমাদের জন্মদিন পালন করার নিয়ম। <i>It is our custom to celebrate birthdays.</i>
ব্যবস্থা	<i>arrangement</i>	বিয়ের বাড়ি যাওয়ার ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে। <i>It has been arranged to go to the wedding.</i>
ব্যাপার	<i>matter</i>	টাকা না নেওয়ার ব্যাপারটা যেন তুমি না জানতে পার। <i>So that you wouldn't know about him not taking money. (Das, p 85)</i>
ভান	<i>pretence</i>	সবাই এইরকম না-জানার ভান করে। <i>Everyone pretends not to know. (Smith, p 126)</i>
রাস্তা	<i>way, road</i>	আর কিছু করার রাস্তা নেই। <i>There is nothing more to do. (Bangla Journal, Vol 4)</i>
সম্ভবনা	<i>possibility</i>	তার ফেল করার সম্ভবনা আছে। <i>It is possible that he will fail.</i>

combinations with either infinitives or verbal nouns

অধিকার	<i>right, privilege</i>	এই কথা বলতে তার অধিকার নেই। <i>He has no right to say this.</i> আমাদের অপমান করবার অধিকার তোমার নেই। <i>You don't have the right to insult us.</i>
অনুমতি	<i>permission</i>	বাবা কি তোমাকে যেতে অনুমতি দিয়েছেন? <i>Has father allowed you to go?</i> কলকাতায় ফেরার অনুমতি পেয়েছে। <i>He has gotten permission to return to Calcutta.</i> (Smith, p 126)

অভ্যাস	<i>habit, custom</i>	গাড়ি চালাতে তার অভ্যাস হয়ে গেছে। <i>He has got used to driving.</i> মদ খাওয়ার আর কোনও অভ্যাস আমার নেই। <i>I am no longer accustomed to drinking spirits. (Smith, p 126)</i>
ইচ্ছা	<i>wish, desire</i>	আমার তোমাদের দেখতে খুব ইচ্ছা। <i>I would very much like to see you.</i> আমার মরে যেতে ইচ্ছা করছে। <i>I want to die. (Smith, p 118)</i> এটা নিতে ইচ্ছে হয়েছিল তার। <i>He had wanted to take it. (Smith, p 116)</i> তোমার কি কলা খাওয়ার ইচ্ছা নেই? <i>Wouldn't you like to eat a banana?</i> বিনা নিমন্ত্রণ সেখানে যাওয়া আমার ইচ্ছা নয়। <i>I don't wish to go there without an invitation. (Milne, p 176)</i> আমার জাদুঘর দেখবার ইচ্ছা করছে। <i>I want to see the museum. (Smith, p 118)</i> ওর ইচ্ছে হয়েছে চিতেয় আগুন দেওয়ার। <i>Her wish was to light the funeral pyre. (Smith, p 116)</i>
চেষ্টা	<i>attempt</i>	মানুষ চেষ্টা করে ভুল থেকে শিক্ষা নিতে। <i>People try to learn from their mistakes. (Das, p 86)</i> সে হাসবার চেষ্টা করল। <i>She tried to laugh. (Smith p 126)</i>
ভয়	<i>fear</i>	যে পথে তিনি যেতেন চোর জোচ্চোর সে পথ মাড়তে ভয় পেত। <i>Thieves would fear to tread the path he walked. (Tagore)</i> আব্দুল জঙ্গলে যেতে ভয় করে না। <i>Abdul is not afraid of going into the forest.</i> তার বিমানে যাওয়ার ভয় নেই। <i>He is not afraid of going on a plane.</i>
শক্তি	<i>strength</i>	মাথা তুলতেও শক্তি নেই তার। <i>He doesn't even have the strength to lift his head.</i> বেশিক্ষণ হাটার আমার শক্তি নেই। <i>I am not strong enough to walk very far.</i> আমার বলিবার শক্তি নাই। <i>I am too weak to speak. (Milne, p 179)</i>
সময়	<i>time</i>	তোমার কি এখন ছবিটা দেখতে সময় আছে? <i>Do you have time to watch the film now?</i> এখনো খাওয়ার সময় হয় নি। <i>It is not yet time to eat.</i>

খেলার সময় খেলা পড়ার সময় পড়া।

Play while you play, read while you read. (Milne, p 179)

সাহস *courage*

রাগ করতে সাহস হয় না।

He didn't have the nerve to get angry. (Seely)

তঁার নিকট যেতে সাহস করি না।

I have not the courage to go near him (Milne, p 194)

আমি বাথরুমও বেশি জোরে গলা খোলার সাহস পাই না।

I don't find the courage to sing loudly even in the bathroom.

(Smith, p 126)

সুবিধা *convenience*

কালকে কথা বলতে সুবিধা হবে।

It will be convenient to talk tomorrow.

কালকে আসার সুবিধা।

It would be convenient (for you) to come tomorrow.

অসুবিধা *inconvenience*

তাকে হাত করতে কোনও অসুবিধা হয় নি।

There was no difficulty winning him over. (Seely)

সুযোগ *chance, opportunity*

আমি যেন এখানে ফিরে আসতে সুযোগ পাই।

May I get the opportunity to return here. (Seely)

সে কলকাতা যাওয়ার সুযোগ পেয়েছে।

He has got the chance to go to Calcutta.

CHAPTER 2 APPENDIX 1 FREQUENT COMPOUND VERBS

Intransitive Second Component Verbs (Compound Makers)

যাওয়া *go* used after many verbs to complete or modify their meaning (BA)
used as intensive, inceptive, continuative, completive (Vale)

with verbs of motion (intransitive)	with verbs expressing a change of state (intransitive)	with transitive verbs
<p>চলে <i>go away, leave</i> এসে <i>arrive</i> ঘুরে <i>move around</i> ফিরে <i>go back, return</i> পালিয়ে <i>flee, run away</i> বেড়িয়ে <i>go visiting</i> হেঁটে <i>walk</i> দৌড়িয়ে <i>run</i> উড়ে <i>fly away</i> ভেসে <i>float away</i></p>	<p>হয়ে <i>become, be finished</i> উঠে <i>come off, get up</i> নমে <i>get down, descend</i> উলটে <i>be turned upside down</i> পড়ে <i>fall down, decrease</i> ভেঙ্গে <i>get broken</i> শুকিয়ে <i>dry</i> খুলে <i>open</i> হারিয়ে <i>get lost</i> রেগে <i>become angry</i> ডুবে <i>sink, drown</i> লেগে <i>stick, become stuck</i></p>	<p>মরে <i>die</i> থমে <i>come to a stop</i> বসে <i>go down, subside</i> কমে <i>decrease, come down</i> বেড়ে <i>increase, go up</i> কেটে <i>be cut, be cut off</i> ছিরে <i>get torn</i> পুড়ে <i>get burnt</i></p> <p>but note: থেকে <i>stay, remain and then go</i></p>
		<p>করে <i>do</i> নিয়ে <i>take</i> দিয়ে <i>give</i> বলে <i>tell</i> মিশে <i>mix</i> দেখে <i>see</i> শুনে <i>hear</i> রেখে <i>leave behind</i> ফেলে <i>abandon, throw away</i> ভুলে <i>forget</i> চালিয়ে <i>continue</i> ছেড়ে <i>give up, leave</i></p>

আসা *come* used as continuative, progressive, completive (Vale)

চলা *move, go* used as continuative

with intransitive verbs	with transitive verbs	with intransitive verbs	with transitive verbs
<p>হয়ে <i>become</i> চলে <i>arrive</i> ফিরে <i>return, come back</i> ঘুরে <i>turn around, come back</i> নমে <i>come down</i></p>	<p>রেখে <i>leave behind</i> ফেলে <i>desert</i> নিয়ে <i>bring</i> করে <i>finish doing</i> খেয়ে <i>eat and come back</i> দেখে <i>see and come back</i></p>	<p>ফিরে <i>return</i> ঘুরে <i>walk around</i> হেঁটে <i>carry on walking</i> দৌড়িয়ে <i>carry on running</i></p>	<p>ধরে <i>carry on holding</i> করে <i>carry on doing</i> বলে <i>continue saying</i> মেনে <i>pay attention</i> ছেড়ে <i>leave behind</i> লিখে <i>continue writing</i></p>

ওঠা *rise, get up* intensive showing suddenness (Vale)
used to describe growth or figurative motion upwards (Smith)

পড়া *fall, drop*
as an auxiliary: to perform an action (Samsad)
used as a complementary verb to indicate the completion of an action (BA)
pass into a specified state (BA)
intensives indicating suddenness or hurry (Vale)
real or figurative motion downwards (Smith)

with intransitive verbs	with transitive verbs	with intransitive verbs
<p>হয়ে <i>become</i> কঁদে <i>burst into tears</i> হেসে <i>burst out laughing</i> ফুলে <i>swell, blossom</i> ঘটে <i>happen</i> সেরে <i>be finished</i> বেড়ে <i>increase</i> রেগে <i>burst out in anger</i></p>	<p>করে <i>finish doing</i> বলে <i>have one's say</i> লিখে <i>finish writing</i> পড়ে <i>read to the end</i> মেরে <i>hit suddenly</i> ধুয়ে <i>finish washing</i> খেয়ে <i>eat up quickly</i> তুলে <i>lift up</i></p>	<p>এসে <i>come suddenly</i> বসে <i>sit down abruptly</i> ভেঙ্গে <i>break down</i> ফেটে <i>explode</i> ঘুমিয়ে <i>fall asleep</i> শুয়ে <i>lie down</i> কমে <i>decrease rapidly</i></p>
		<p>হয়ে <i>happen</i> উঠে <i>get up</i> কেপে <i>start shivering</i> হেরে <i>lose</i> গলে <i>melt</i> নমে <i>get down</i></p>
		no examples with transitive verbs found

বসা *sit* to do, commit suddenly (Samsad)
used as a complementary verb to
express suddenness of an action (BA)
intensives showing suddenness (Vale)
used with transitive verbs to describe
exaggerated, inappropriate actions (Smith)

দাঁড়ানো *stand*

with intransitive verbs	with transitive verbs	with intransitive verbs	with transitive verbs
উঠে <i>get up suddenly</i> এসে <i>arrive</i> গিয়ে <i>arrive</i>	করে <i>do suddenly</i> বলে <i>say unexpectedly</i> চেয়ে <i>demand</i>	হয়ে <i>become</i> উঠে <i>stand up</i> গিয়ে <i>end, terminate</i>	করে <i>finish doing</i> বলে <i>say</i> তুলে <i>prosper, flourish</i>

(1) থাকা *stay, remain*

completive continuatives (Vale)

used for customary or habitual actions (Smith)

and (2) আছ- *be* (incomplete verb)

continuatives (Vale)

with stative verbs (Smith)

Note: Either থাকা or আছ- can be used in the present and past tense. In all other tenses থাকা has to be used.

with intransitive verbs		with transitive verbs	
বসে <i>stay sitting</i> শুয়ে <i>stay lying down</i> দাঁড়িয়ে <i>remain standing</i> লুকিয়ে <i>remain hidden</i> জেগে <i>keep awake</i> দৌড়িয়ে <i>keep running</i>	হয়ে <i>remain</i> পড়ে <i>remain unused</i> বঁচে <i>stay alive</i> ঘুমিয়ে <i>stay asleep</i> রেগে <i>remain angry</i> হেসে <i>keep laughing</i>	করে <i>keep doing</i> চেয়ে <i>keep wanting</i> ধরে <i>keep holding on</i> শুনে <i>stay listening</i> খেয়ে <i>keep eating</i> তাকিয়ে <i>keep looking</i>	চালিয়ে <i>continue</i> বলে <i>keep saying</i> লিখে <i>keep writing</i> জেনে <i>remember</i>

Transitive Second Component Verbs (with transitive verbs)

দেওয়া *give* used to complete an action (Samsad)
used after certain verbs to indicate completion (BA);
describes actions directed away from speaker (Smith)

নেওয়া *take* intensives with a reflexive ring (Vale)
action directed towards the subject of
a transitive verb (Smith)

করে <i>do (for s.o.)</i> বলে <i>tell</i> লিখে <i>write (for s.o.)</i> তুলে <i>lift</i> ফেলে <i>throw away</i> ছেড়ে <i>leave, give up</i> ভেঙ্গে <i>break</i> কেটে <i>cut</i>	রেখে <i>keep, put aside</i> খুলে <i>open</i> কিনে <i>buy (for s.o.)</i> দিয়ে <i>give away</i> উঠিয়ে <i>lift up</i> নামিয়ে <i>lift down</i> বুঝিয়ে <i>explain</i> শুকিয়ে <i>put out to dry</i>	দেখে <i>look at</i> খেয়ে <i>eat</i> তুলে <i>lift</i> করে <i>do (for oneself)</i> টেনে <i>pull</i> মেনে <i>mind, obey</i> চেয়ে <i>ask for</i> খুলে <i>open</i>	লিখে <i>write (for oneself)</i> নিয়ে <i>take away</i> ধরে <i>grasp</i> কিনে <i>buy (for oneself)</i> সামলিয়ে <i>manage</i> জেনে <i>find out</i> শিখে <i>learn</i> বুঝে <i>accept</i>
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ফেলা **throw**

in compound verbs: finish up, do abruptly
or unexpectedly (Prog)
used to complete an incomplete verb (BA)
in compound verbs: commit suddenly (Samsad)
intensives and completives conveying
thoroughness (Vale)

তোলা **lift, raise**

completives showing gradual action (Vale)

খেয়ে <i>eat up</i>	দিয়ে <i>give away</i>	করে <i>make, cause to be</i>
বলে <i>blurt out</i>	মেরে <i>kill</i>	সারিয়ে <i>nurse back to health</i>
করে <i>finish doing</i>	ভেঙ্গে <i>break</i>	গড়িয়ে <i>build, create</i>
দেখে <i>see</i>	মুছে <i>wipe off</i>	বাঁচিয়ে <i>save</i>
চিনে <i>recognize</i>	ছিড়ে <i>tear up</i>	জাগিয়ে <i>wake up from sleep</i>
খুলে <i>open</i>	but note:	লাগিয়ে <i>grow (plants)</i>
বেচে <i>sell</i>	কঁদে (intr) <i>burst into tears</i>	বাড়িয়ে <i>make grow, increase</i>
কিনে <i>buy</i>	হেসে (intr) <i>burst out</i>	
কেটে <i>chop off</i>	<i>laughing</i>	

রাখা **keep, put down**

continuative (Vale), describes the prolongation or the effect of the verbal action (Smith)

করে <i>have done beforehand</i>	লুকিয়ে <i>hide, conceal</i>	নামিয়ে <i>lay down</i>
ফেলে <i>put off, neglect</i>	জমিয়ে <i>lay by, set aside</i>	টিকিয়ে <i>maintain, let grow</i>
ধরে <i>detain, hold back</i>	সাজিয়ে <i>keep in order</i>	পেঁচিয়ে <i>involve</i>
লিখে <i>note, put down in writing</i>	অটকিয়ে <i>confine, detain</i>	খুলে <i>keep open</i>
তুলে <i>keep aside, postpone</i>	ঝুলিয়ে <i>keep sth hanging</i>	গুনে <i>keep account</i>

Dictionaries used:

Samsad Bengali-English Dictionary, Calcutta 1991 (2nd edition) (Samsad)

Bangla Academy Bengali-English Dictionary, Dhaka 1994 (BA)

Progressive Bengali-English Dictionary, Calcutta 1991 (Prog)

CHAPTER 2 APPENDIX 2 The Compound Makers

	যাওয়া go	আসা come	চলা move	উঠা rise, get up	পড়া fall	বসা sit
syntactic features	intransitive	intransitive	intransitive	intransitive	intransitive	intransitive
syntactic requirements	with intransitive and transitive verbs	with intransitive and transitive verbs	with intransitive and transitive verbs	with intransitive and transitive verbs	with intransitive verbs (possibly with transitive verbs, but no examples found)	with intransitive and transitive verbs
semantic impact	motion away from subject, finality	motion towards the speaker, resultative	motion from	motion upwards, growth, unexpectedness sudden, abrupt change	motion downwards negative connotations, sudden, unexpected	sudden, unexpected inappropriate, rash unpremeditated, exaggerated
semantic requirements (with which verbs)	verbs of motion, verbs of change (gradual, eg শূন্যকরণ, or momentary, eg ভেঙে)	verbs of motion, verbs of gradual change	verbs of motion, continuative verbs continuous or repeated actions or processes	verbs of growth, improvement, with উন্নতি become verbs of sound (sudden onset)	with verbs of deterioration, change	verbs of volitional acts, 'acts that can be performed in a rash manner' (Kachru)
aspective features	completive, continuative	completive, progressive, continuative	continuative, iterative	completive	completive	completive, intensive
lexical counterparts or opposites	directional opposite of আসা, intransitive counter-part of দেওয়া, ফেলা	directional opposite of যাওয়া	---	directional opposite of পড়া, intransitive counter-part of তুলনা	directional opposite of উঠা, intransitive counter-part of বসনা	---
tenses	all tenses	all tenses	all tenses	not in continuous tenses	not in continuous tenses	not in continuous tenses
retains some of its lexical meaning	with transitive verbs, with verbs of motion	with transitive verbs, with verbs of motion	with verbs of motion	partly with verbs of upward motion, not with transitive verbs	partly with verbs like বসা, পড়া, ফেলা, not with other verbs	no
can be used in negative sentences	yes, in all tenses	yes, in all tenses	no	no	no	no
lexical information in dictionaries	used after many verbs to complete or modify their meaning (BA)	none	none	none	as an auxiliary: to perform an action, completion of an action (S)	commit suddenly, suddenness of action (BA)
emotional nuance	neutral	neutral	neutral	can be positive	can be negative	often negative

	যাওয়া go	আসা come	চলা move	ওঠা rise, get up	পড়া full	বসা sit
compounds with						
	verbs of motion: চলা, আসা, ঘুরা, কিরা verbs of change: হওয়া, উঠা, নামা, পড়া ভাঙ্গা, হারানো, খুলা, নেওয়া, দেওয়া, করা, বলা	intransitive verbs: হওয়া, চলা, কিরা, ঘুরা, নামা, হটা, বেড়ানো transitive verbs: রাখা, ফেলা, করা, নেওয়া, দেওয়া, দেখা, খাওয়া, বলা	intransitive verbs: কিরা, ঘুরা, হটা, transitive verbs: ধরা, করা, বলা, মানা, ছাড়া, লিখা	intransitive verbs: হওয়া, কানো, হাসা, ফুলা, ঘটা, বাড়া, রাগা, বচা, জাগা transitive verbs: করা, বলা, লিখা, পড়া, মারা, খোয়া, খাওয়া,	আসা, বসা, শোয়া, কমা, ভাঙ্গা, ফটা, হওয়া, ফুমানো, ওঠা, দাঁড়ানো	intransitive verbs: ওঠা, আসা, যাওয়া transitive verbs: করা, বলা, চাওয়া

The Compound Makers

	থাকা stay, remain	আছে be, stay	দেওয়া give	নেওয়া take	কেনা throw	তোলা lift, raise	রাখা keep, put
syntactic features	intransitive	intransitive	transitive	transitive	transitive	transitive	transitive
syntactic requirements	with intransitive or transitive verbs	with intransitive or transitive verbs	with transitive verbs	with transitive verbs	transitive verbs, but also with কান and হাসা	with transitive verbs	with transitive verbs
semantic impact	continuative, changes actions into states or continuatives	stative, changes actions into continuatives	other-benefactive	self-benefactive	done easily, intensely, exhaustively done, violent, thoroughly	achievement after some effort, upward motion, gradual action	anticipatory action, accomplished for future use, prolongation of verbal action
semantic requirements (with which verbs)	with stative or active verbs	with stative verbs, with active verbs	with volitional verbs, often with causative verbs	with volitional verbs that are inherently self-directed	with volitional verbs, changes acts of duration eg লিখা, পড়া, বলা, করা into momentary actions	often with causative verbs	with active verbs which have some duration in time
aspective features	continuative	continuative	completive	intensive	completive, intensive	completive	continuative
lexical counterparts or opposites	iterative, habitual		directional opposite of নেওয়া	directional opposite of দেওয়া	transitive counter-part of পড়া, directional opposite of তোলা	transitive counter-part of ওঠা, directional opposite of ফেলা	transitive counter-part of থাকা
tenses	all tenses	present and past tense only	all tenses	all tenses	not in continuous tenses	not in continuous tenses	all tenses

	থাকা stay, remain	আছে be, stay	দেওয়া give	নেওয়া take	ফেলা throw	তোলো lift, raise	রাখা keep, put
retains some of its lexical meaning	yes, with all verbs	yes, with all verbs	very marginally	very marginally	no	no	yes, with most verbs
can be used in negative sentences	yes	no	occasionally, in idiomatic use	no	no	no	yes
lexical information in dictionaries	none	none	used after certain verbs to indicate completion (BA)	none	finish up, commit suddenly, do abruptly or unexpectedly (Prog)	none	none
emotional nuance	neutral	neutral	intimacy (?)	intimacy (?)	can be negative	can be positive	neutral
compounds with	intransitive verbs হওয়া, বসা, শোয়া, জাগা, ঘুমানো, লুকানো transitive verbs: করা, চাওয়া, ধরা, শূনা খাওয়া, বলা, লিখা	same as থাকি, present and past tense only	করা, বলা, লিখা, খুলা, দেওয়া, রাখা, ছাড়া, ফেলা, তোলো, কেনা with causatives: বুঝানো, নামানো, উঠানো, শুকানো	দেখা, শূনা, জানা, বুঝা, খাওয়া, মানা, নেওয়া, লিখা, করা, চাওয়া, ধরা, কেনা	খাওয়া, বলা, দেখা, করা, চেনা, দেওয়া, ভাঙ্গা, ছিঁড়া, কাটা, মারা, খুলা, মুছা but also: কাঁদা, হাসা <i>intr</i>	করা, বাঁচানো, লাপানো, জাগানো, সারানো, গড়ানো	করা, ফেলা, ধরা, বলা, তোলো, লিখা, খুলা, লুকানো, নামানো, আঁটকানো, গুনা, বানানো, পঁচানো

Abbreviations of dictionaries: Samsad (S), Bangla Academy (BA), Progressive (Prog)

CHAPTER 3, APPENDIX 1

POSTPOSITIONS RASHIDA BEGUM (translations are mine)

postposition	case of preceding noun	meaning	example
অপেক্ষা	nom	than	অনেক স্থানে পদ্য অপেক্ষা গদ্য কাব্যের উপযোগী। <i>In many places the poetry of prose is more appropriate than verse.</i>
অজ্ঞাতসারে	gen	without knowledge of	সকলের অজ্ঞাতসারে সে ঘর থেকে বেরিয়ে এলো। <i>He came out of the house without anyone noticing.</i>
অজুহাতে	gen	because of	অসুস্থতার অজুহাতে আমিন ছুটি নিয়েছে। <i>Amin took a holiday because of illness.</i>
অনুপাতে	gen	comparative to	শ্যামলীর অনুপাতে শয়লা লম্বা। <i>Shaila is taller than Shyamoli.</i>
অনুযায়ী	nom	according to	কাজ মানুষের বুদ্ধি অনুযায়ী হবে। <i>The work will turn out according to people's cleverness.</i>
অনুসারে	nom	according to	ব্যাকরণের নিয়ম অনুসারে কর্তা কর্মের আগে বসে। <i>According to grammar rules a nominative comes before an accusative.</i>
অন্তর	nom	at intervals	দুই ঘণ্টা অন্তর ওষুধ খাবে। <i>(You) will take the medicine every two hours.</i>
অবদি	nom	up to	ডাকঘর অবদি রাস্তা পাকা। <i>Up to the post office the road is sealed.</i>
অবধি	nom	up to	সুতপা কত রাত অবধি জেগে কবিতা লেখেন। <i>Sutpa stays up so late at night writing poetry.</i>
অভ্যন্তরে	gen	inside	দলের অভ্যন্তরে ভাঙন ধরেছে। <i>The group is crumbling from inside.</i>
আগে	nom, gen	before	ট্রেন আজকে মিনিট দশেক আগে ছাড়বে। <i>The train will leave ten minutes early today.</i>
আশে পাশে	gen	near by	বাড়ির ঠিক আশে পাশে কোতাও বোমা পড়েছে। <i>The bomb fell somewhere right next to the house.</i>
আনুকূল্যে	gen	in favour of	তার আনুকূল্যে টাকা জমা দিতে বলা হয়েছে। <i>(He) was told to save money for him.</i>
আশ পাশে	gen	near	বাড়ির আশপাশে কোন দোকান নেই। <i>There are no shops close to the house.</i>
আড়ালে	gen	behind	গল্পও প্রবাদের আড়ালে নীতি কথা থাকে। <i>In stories and proverbs something is said about customs.</i>
উদ্দেশে	gen	to	কামালের উদ্দেশে বলা হয়েছে। <i>Kamal has been told.</i>
উদ্দেশ্যে	gen	towards	আমাদের যাত্রা গ্রামের উদ্দেশ্যে <i>our travel towards the village</i>
উপরে	gen	about on about in front of	তার কবিতার উপরে কিছু সমালোচনা বেরিয়েছে। <i>Some discussions of his poetry have been published.</i> টেবিলের উপরে বই আছে। <i>There is a book on the table.</i> আমার উপরে তিনি ক্ষুব্ধ। <i>He is distressed about me.</i> মুখের উপর কথা শুনিয়ে দিল। <i>He said this in front of me.</i>
উপলক্ষে	nom	for	ঈদ উপলক্ষে উৎসব হচ্ছে। <i>There are Eid celebrations going on.</i>

উর্ধ্ব	gen	above	আমিনার সব কথাই সন্দেহের উর্ধ্বে। <i>Everything Amina has said is beyond doubt.</i>
এখানে	gen	near	আমার এখানে কিছু চেয়ো না। <i>Don't demand anything from me here!</i>
ওখানে	gen	near	দরজার ওখানে শব্দ হচ্ছে। <i>There is a noise over there by the door.</i>
কথা	gen	about	তোমার কথা ভাবছিলাম। <i>I was worried about you.</i>
কবলে	gen	in the grip of	পদ্মার সবগুলো নৌকা ঝড়ের কবলে পড়েছে। <i>All the boats on the Padma have been gripped by the storm.</i>
কর্তৃক	nom	by	বাংলাদেশের স্কুলের পাঠ্য বইগুলো সরকার কর্তৃক অনুমোদিত। <i>School books in Bangladesh are sanctioned by the government.</i>
কল্যাণে	gen	by means of	তোমার কল্যাণে আমিনার চাকরি হয়েছে। <i>Amina got a job through you.</i>
কাছ ঘেষে	gen	near	দরজার কাছ ঘেষে খস খস শব্দ। <i>There was a rustling sound near the door.</i>
কাছাকাছি	gen	near	লোকটার বয়স চল্লিশের কাছাকাছি। <i>The man is about forty.</i>
কাছে	gen	near to for with	বাড়ির কাছে এসে গাড়িটা নষ্ট হয়ে গেল। <i>When we got near the house the car broke down.</i> শরৎচন্দ্রের কাছে পাঠকরা চিঠি লিখত। <i>The readers used to write letters to Saratochandra.</i> অনেকের কাছে বুদ্ধদেব বসু দুর্বোধ্য। <i>Many people find the Buddhust semigods hard to understand.</i> আহমদ বড় বোনের কাছে সিলেটে থাকে। <i>Ahamad stays with his big sister in Sylhet.</i>
কাছেকাছে	gen	constantly near	ছোট ভাইটা সব সময় আমার কাছে কাছে থাকে। <i>My little brother is always with me.</i>
কাছেপিঠে	gen	near	বাড়ির কাছপিঠে কোনও দোকান নেই। <i>There are no shops near the house.</i>
কারণে	gen	because of	তোমার কারণে আমার যাওয়া পিছিয়ে গেল। <i>My going was delayed because of you.</i>
কালে	nom	at the time of	বিপদ কালে অনেকে সরে পড়ে। <i>Many people move away in times of danger.</i>
কালীন	nom	at the time of	বিধানসভার অধিবেশন চলাকালীন ঐ এলাকায় প্রবেশ নিষিদ্ধ। <i>When legal council meetings are in progress entry to this area is forbidden.</i>
করে	nom loc	as a result by	তাতে করে আমার কোনও লাভ হয় নি। <i>Because of this I made no profit.</i> মেয়েরা মাথায় করে ফুল বিক্রি করছে। <i>The girls are selling flowers in (his) honour.</i>
কোলে	gen	below	রাধার চোখের কোলে কালি পড়েছে। <i>Radha has an ink-stain under her eye.</i>
কেন্দ্রে	gen	in the middle of	বৃত্তের কেন্দ্রে একটি বিন্দু। <i>There is a drop in the middle of the circle.</i>
কেন্দ্র করে	acc	about	দুর্ঘটনাকে কেন্দ্র করে জটিলতার সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। <i>Complications have arisen about the accident.</i>
ক্রমে	nom	according to	আমাদের অনুরোধ ক্রমে তিনি সঙ্গে যাচ্ছেন। <i>According to our request he is going with us.</i>
খতিরে	gen	for the sake of	কাজের খতিরে তোমাকে উপেক্ষা করেছি। <i>I have neglected you for the sake of work.</i>

খাতে	nom	towards	ঘটনা যে কোনো খাতে মোড় নিতে পারে। <i>The incident could take a turn in any direction.</i>
ক্ষেত্রে	gen	in case of	বনলতা সেনের ক্ষেত্রে কথাটা প্রযোজ্য। <i>In the case of Banalata Sen this statement is applicable.</i>
গা ঘেঁষে	gen	with	বিলের গা ঘেঁষে করিমের জমি। <i>Karim's land is next to the beel.</i>
গায়ে	gen	on	আজকাল দেওয়ালের গায়ে ও প্লোগান লেখা হচ্ছে। <i>Nowadays there are slogans even on the walls.</i>
গোড়ায়	gen	near	কানের গোড়ায় শব্দ হচ্ছে। <i>There is a noise beside (my) ear.</i>
ঘিরে	nom	around	মেয়েটির কোমর ঘিরে জড়ি দেওয়া চওড়া পাড়। <i>The girl has a wide interwoven border round her waist.</i>
চাইতে	nom	than	দেশের সব চাইতে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ নদী পদ্মা। <i>The Padma is the most important river in the country.</i>
চে	nom	than	আয়শা ভাইবোনদের মধ্যে সবচে বড়। <i>Aisha is the oldest of the siblings.</i>
চেয়ে	nom, gen	than	সেলিমের কথাই সব চেয়ে সত্য বলে মনে হয়েছিল। <i>Selim's statement sounded the truest.</i> সেলিমের কথাই সবার চেয়ে সত্য বলে মনে হয়েছিল। <i>Selim's statement sounded truer than anyone else's.</i>
ছাড়া	nom, acc	without except	আমাকে ছাড়া ও কোথাও যায় না। <i>He doesn't go anywhere without me.</i> ট্রেন কমলাপুর ছাড়া আর কোথাও থামবে না। <i>The train won't stop anywhere except at Kamlapur.</i> আমি ছাড়া আর কেউ জানে না। <i>No one knows except me.</i>
ছাড়িয়ে	nom	across	মাঠ ছাড়িয়ে পাকা ধানের ক্ষেত। <i>Across the pasture is a field of ripe paddy.</i>
জাতীয়	nom	like	রূপকথা জাতীয় গল্প। <i>a story like a fairy-tale</i>
জায়গায়	gen	instead of	সে আমার জন্যে আমের জায়গায় লিচু এনেছে। <i>He brought me lychees instead of mangoes.</i>
জন্য, জন্যে	gen	for	তোমার জন্যে <i>for you</i>
জোরে	gen	with the help of	সুরণ শক্তির জোরে আমিন পরীক্ষা পাশ করবে। <i>Amin will pass his exams with the help of his good memory.</i>
ডগায়	gen	near	নাকের ডগায় চুরি হয়েছে। <i>It has been stolen from under my nose.</i>
তলায়	gen	underneath	গাছের তলায় দাঁড়িয়ে একটি মেয়ে। <i>There is a girl standing under the tree.</i>
তুলনায়	gen	comparative to	ফুটবল খেলায় মেয়েদের তুলনায় ছেলেরা এগিয়ে আছে। <i>Compared to girls boys are more advanced at football.</i>
থেকে	nom gen	from than	ঢাকা থেকে কলকাতা বেশি দূর নয়। <i>It is not very far from Dhaka to Calcutta.</i> গোলাপের থেকে জুঁই ফুলের গন্ধ বেশি তীব্র। <i>The smell of jasmin is more intense than that of roses.</i>
দখলে	gen	in the grip of	তোমার কলমটা এখন শ্যামলের দখলে। <i>Your pen is now in Shyamol's grip.</i>
দরুন	gen	because of	দুর্ঘটনার দরুন আজ ট্রেন দেরিতে পৌছবে। <i>Because of the incident the train will arrive late.</i>

দিকে	gen	towards around	বল গোলের দিকে গড়িয়ে গেল। <i>The ball was rolling towards the goal.</i> সন্কার দিকে এসো। <i>Come around evening time!</i>
দিয়ে	nom	with through by means of from	খোঁকা দুধ দিয়ে ভাত মেখে খেয়েছে। <i>The boy ate rice mixed with milk.</i> পাখি জানালা দিয়ে উড়ে গেছে। <i>The bird flew through the window.</i> দড়ি দিয়ে বাঁধা <i>tied with a rope</i> চুল দিয়ে জল ঝরছে। <i>Water is running off (her) hair.</i>
দ্বারা	gen	by	তর্কের দ্বারা সব কিছু প্রমাণ করা যায় না। <i>Not everything can be proved by argument.</i>
ধরে	nom	by with during	এই রাস্তা ধরে এগিয়ে গেলে প্রধানমন্ত্রীর বাসভবন। <i>Further along this road is the prime minister's residence.</i> নাম ধরে ডাকলাম। <i>I called (him) by name.</i> এক সপ্তাহ ধরে ক্রমাগত বৃষ্টি হচ্ছে। <i>There has been incessant rain for one week.</i>
ধারে	gen	beside	বেড়ার ও ধারে সেলিম। <i>Selim is beside the fence.</i>
ধারে কাছে	gen	near	বাড়ির ধারে কাছে কোনও পোস্ট অফিস নেই। <i>There is no post-office near the house.</i>
নইলে, নাহলে	nom loc	without	আমি নইলে তার কাজটা হবে না। <i>Without me his work won't get done.</i> অমায় নাহলে তার গান শোনা হবে না। <i>His song won't be heard without me.</i>
নাগাদ,নাগাত	nom	upto	সন্কে সাতটা নাগাদ সেতার বাজালাম। <i>I played the sitar until seven in the evening.</i>
নামে	gen	against	তোমার নামে নালিশ করা হয়েছে। <i>Somebody told on you.</i>
নিমিত্তে	gen	because of	রাধার নিমিত্তে ললিতাকে শাস্তি পেতে হয়েছে। <i>Because of Radha Lolita had to get punished.</i>
নিয়ে	nom, acc	about	রতনকে নিয়ে কথা উঠলো। <i>The jewel was talked about.</i>
নিচে	gen	under, below	টেবিলের ঠিক নিচে একটা বেড়াল ছানা বসে আছে। <i>Directly under the table there is a cat washing itself.</i> লোকটার বয়স চল্লিশের নিচে। <i>The man is less than forty years old.</i>
পথে	gen	towards	দেশ এখন উন্নতির পথে। <i>The country is on the road to improvement.</i>
পর,পরে	gen	after	কামালের পর জামাল আসছে। <i>Jamal came after Kamal.</i>
পর পর	gen	at intervals	গোলাপের চারা একহাত পর পর লাগানো হয়েছে। <i>The rose seeds were planted at intervals of a hand's breadth.</i>
পর্যন্ত	nom	upto	ডাক ঘর পর্যন্ত রাস্তা পাকা। <i>Up to the post office the road is sealed.</i>
পক্ষে	gen	for	নজরুলের কবিতা নজরুলকে বোঝার পক্ষে খুব মূল্যবান। <i>Nazrul's poetry is very valuable in order to understand Nazrul.</i>
পরিবর্তে	gen	instead of	মোহাম্মেদানের পরিবর্তে আবাহনী খেলবে। <i>Abahani will play instead of Mohamedan.</i>

পূর্বে	gen	before	ট্রেন ছাড়ার পূর্বে বাঁশি বাজল। <i>The whistle blew before the train set off.</i>
প্রসঙ্গে	nom	about	এক রাত্রি গল্পটির প্রসঙ্গে কথাটা উঠল। <i>This was said one night about the story.</i>
পাশাপাশি	gen	side by side	তোমার ছবির পাশাপাশি আমাদের ছবি ছাপা হয়েছে। <i>Our photo was printed side by side with yours.</i>
পাশে	gen.	beside	বাড়ির ঠিক পাশে একটা কদম গাছ। <i>There is a Kadamtrees right beside the house.</i>
প্রতি	gen	towards	তোমার প্রতি তার খানিকটা অপ্রকাশ্য সহানুভূতি। <i>He has some unrevealed feelings towards you.</i>
পিছনে, পেছনে	gen	behind	আমাকে তার পিছনে টেনে নিয়ে গেল। <i>He took me with him by pulling me behind him.</i>
পিঠে	gen	after	কবিতার পিঠে কাকন জন্মেছে। <i>The poem is encrusted with ornament.</i>
পেরিয়ে	nom	across	মাঠ পেরিয়ে শ্যামের বাড়ি। <i>Sam's house is across the field.</i>
ফলে	gen	as a result	দুর্ঘটনা ঘটায় ফলে ট্রেন পৌছাতে দেরি হলো। <i>As a result of the accident the train was late in arriving.</i>
ফাঁকে	gen	in between	কাজের ফাঁকে বিশ্রাম একান্ত দরকার। <i>In between work there is a great need for rest.</i>
বদলে	gen	instead of	আপেলের বদলে পেয়ারা এনো। <i>Bring a guava instead of an apple!</i>
বরাবর	nom	to along	রেজিস্ট্রার বরাবর আবেদন করা হয়েছে। <i>An application has been made to the registrar.</i> মাঠের সীমানা বরাবর বটগাছ। <i>There is a banyan-tree at the edge of the field.</i>
বলে	nom gen	because of as by the help of	আম পাঁকা বলে মিষ্টি। <i>The mango is sweet because it is ripe.</i> দুলাভাই বলে কিছু বলা যায় না। <i>As a brother-in-law, there is nothing I can say.</i> মানুষ বুদ্ধির বলে আগুন আবিষ্কার করেছে। <i>Man invented fire through intelligence.</i>
বশতঃ	nom	because of	ভুলবশতঃ তোমার নাম লেখা হয়েছে। <i>Your name was written by mistake.</i>
বশে	gen	under the influence of	ভুলের বশে তোমার নাম ছাপা হয়েছে। <i>Your name was printed by mistake.</i>
বাইরে	gen	out of reach outside	বল নাগালের বাইরে চলে গেছে। <i>The ball has rolled beyond reach.</i> লোকটা দরজার বাইরে দাঁড়িয়ে <i>the person standing outside the door</i>
বাদে	nom	after without	দু'দিন বাদে আমার সঙ্গে দেখা কর। <i>Come and see me in two days time.</i> কমলা বাদে যে কোনও ফল খাওয়া যেতে পারে। <i>Any fruit can be eaten except oranges.</i>
বাদে বাদে	nom	at intervals	দু'দিন বাদে বাদে দেখা করবে। <i>Come and see me every two days.</i>
বাবদ, বাবত	nom	for	খাজনা বাবদ পাঁচ হাজার টাকা দেওয়া হয়েছে। <i>Five thousand Taka has been given as revenue.</i>
বিপক্ষে	gen	against	মোহামেডানের বিপক্ষে আবাহনীর মত শক্তিশালী দল খেলছে। <i>A team as strong as Abahani played against Mohamedan.</i>
বিপরীতে	gen	against	আবাহনীর বিপরীতে মোহামেডান খেলবে। <i>Mohamedan will play agaibst Abahani.</i>

বিরুদ্ধে	gen	against	বিশ্ব জুড়ে শোষকের বিরুদ্ধে শোষিতের সংগ্রাম চলছে। <i>All over the world the oppressed are at war with the oppressors.</i>
বিশয়ে	gen	about	তোমার বিষয়ে সবাই ভাবছে। <i>Everyone is worried about you.</i>
বুকে	gen	in the middle of	সাগরের বুকে একটা পালতোলা জাহাজ। <i>There is a sailingboat in the middle of the sea.</i>
বেলায়	gen	in case of	মানুষের বেলাতে মনুষ্যত্বের পরিচয় বড় ধর্ম। <i>To demonstrate humanity is the best attribute of a human.</i>
বৈ, বই	nom	without except	তুমি বৈ আর কেউ এই কাজ করতে পারে না। <i>No one but you can do this work.</i> বেলা বৈ সবাই কলেজে পড়ে। <i>Everyone is at college except for Bela.</i>
ব্যতীত	nom	without except	কল্পনা ব্যতীত সবাইকে পুরস্কার দেওয়া হবে। <i>Everyone except Kolpona will receive a prize.</i> কল্পনা ব্যতীত কবিতা লেখা যায় না। <i>You can't write poetry without imagination.</i>
ব্যাপারে	nom	about	তোমার ব্যাপারে তাকে বলা হয়েছে। <i>He has been told about you.</i>
ভরে	nom	with	মৈত্রেয়ী দেবী সাহাস ভরে নিজের কথা লিখেছেন। <i>Moytreysi Debi wrote with courage about herself.</i>
ভিতরে, ভেতরে	gen	in inside	বুকের ভেতর কাঁপছে। (He) was badly shaken. বল ঘরের ঠিক ভেতরে ঢুকে গেছে। <i>The ball went straight inside the room.</i>
মত, মতন	gen nom	like accordingly for	টমেটোর মত টুকটুকে লাল bright red like a tomato মল্লিকা বাড়ি বানিয়েছে নিজের পছন্দ মত। <i>Malika decorated the house according to her own liking.</i> সুরমাকে পড়াবার মত কোনও মেয়ে কলেজে নেই। <i>There is no girl at the college for teaching Suroma.</i>
মাঝখানে	gen	in the middle of	ছবির মাঝখানে পথের ইংগিত রয়েছে। <i>In the middle of the picture there is a trace of the path.</i>
মাঝামাঝি	gen	in the middle of	ফাল্গুনের মাঝামাঝি আমাদের গাছে ফুল ধরেছে। <i>In the middle of Phalgun our Krishnashrub started blossoming.</i>
মাঝে মাঝে	gen	at intervals	রাস্তার মাঝে মাঝে সমমাপের তোরণ বসান হয়েছে। <i>Equal-sized portals were erected at intervals on the road.</i>
মাথায়	gen	on at the point of	আলমারির মাথায় বইগুলো রাখ। <i>Put the books on the shelf.</i> চৌরাস্তার মাথায় এসে ঝড়ের মুখে পড়লাম। <i>At the crossroads I walked straight into a storm.</i>
মাত্র	nom	as soon as	ঢাকায় পৌঁছান মাত্র বৃষ্টি নামল। <i>As soon as we got to Dhaka it started raining.</i>
মাধ্যমে	gen	by	শ্রমের মাধ্যমে মানুষ মেরুদণ্ড সোজা রাখে। <i>People keep their spines straight through hard work.</i>
মুখে	gen	in front of towards	বাতাসের ঝাপটার মুখে চুল উড়ছে। <i>(Her) hair was flying in the gust of wind.</i> নৌকা স্রোতের বিপরীত মুখে চলেছে। <i>The boat was going against the current.</i>
মুখোমুখি	gen	face to face	বিপদের মুখোমুখি দাঁড়িয়ে সাহাস হারাই নি। <i>I didn't lose my courage in the face of danger.</i>
মূলে	gen	at the root of	ঘটনার মূলে কারও হাত আছে। <i>Somebody is at the root of this incidence.</i>

মধ্যে	gen	inside in between	বাক্সের মধ্যে একটি গোল দাগ। <i>There is a round mark inside the box.</i> দু'জনের মধ্যে খুব ভাব। <i>There is a great friendship between them.</i>
মধ্যখানে	gen	in the middle of	ঘরের মধ্যখানে একটি টেবিল। <i>There is a table in the middle of the room.</i>
যাবৎ, যাবত	nom	during	দুই মাস যাবৎ সে অসুস্থ। <i>He has been ill for two months.</i>
যোগে	nom	by	দেশের বাইরে দৈনিক বাংলা ডাকযোগে পাঠানো হয়। <i>Daily Bengali newspapers are sent out of the country by post.</i>
রূপে	nom	as	আগেকার দিনে পাথর হাতিয়ার রূপে ব্যবহৃত হত। <i>A long time ago stones were used as weapons.</i>
শুদ্ধ	nom	with	ভাল শূদ্ধ ফুলটা ছিঁড়ে এনেছে। <i>They tore off the branch together with the flower.</i>
সত্ত্বেও	nom	in spite of	মানা করা সত্ত্বেও আমিন ছায়াছবি দেখে। <i>Even though he was forbidden, Amin went to the cinema.</i>
সম্মত	nom	with	বামাল সম্মত চারটি ধরা পড়ল। <i>Four people were arrested with the stolen goods.</i>
সম্পর্কে	nom	about	জেমস জয়েস সম্পর্কে আমাদের কৌতুহল প্রতিদিন বাড়ছে। <i>We are getting more curious about James Joyce every day.</i>
সম্বন্ধে	gen	about	রবিন্দ্রনাথ সম্বন্ধে তার একটি কবিতা আছে। <i>There is a poem by him about Tagore.</i>
স্বরূপ	nom	as	আমিন কৈফিয়ত স্বরূপ অসুস্থতার কথা উল্লেখ করেছে। <i>Amin refers to the illness as an explanation.</i>
সহকারে	nom	with	জনতা মিছিল সহকারে শহীদ মিনারের দিকে এগিয়ে গেল। <i>Sahid advanced towards Minar with a crowd.</i>
সঙ্গে	gen	with	সেলিমের পছন্দের সঙ্গে আমিনার পছন্দ মেলে না। <i>Selim's and Amina's preferences are not the same.</i>
সঙ্গে সঙ্গে	gen	constantly with immediately after	আমার ছোট ভাই সব সময় আমার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে থাকে। <i>My little brother stays with me all the time.</i> বাঁশি বাজাবার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে ট্রেন ছাড়ল। <i>As soon as the whistle went the train set off.</i>
সাথে	gen	with	তোমার সাথে যাবো। <i>I will go with you.</i>
সামনাসামনি	gen	face to face	আমাদের সামনাসামনি তিনি দাঁড়িয়ে আছেন। <i>He is standing in front of us.</i>
সামনে	gen	in front of	মেয়েরা দরজার সামনে বসে পুতুল খেলছিলো। <i>The girls sat in front of the door and played with dolls.</i>
সাহায্যে	gen	with the help of	নৌকার সাহায্যে জেলেরা পদ্মার মত উত্তাল নদী পার হয়। <i>The fishermen cross a river as rough as the Padma by boat.</i>
সুমুখে	gen	in front of	বাড়ির সুমুখে একটি পুকুর। <i>There is a pond in front of the house.</i>
সৌজন্যে	gen	in courtesy of [sic]	লেখকের সৌজন্যে পাঁচ হাজার টাকা পাঠানো হয়েছে। <i>Five thousand Taka was sent for the writer.</i>
হাত থেকে	gen	from	একঘেঁয়েমীর হাত থেকে মানুষ মুক্তি চায়। <i>People want to be free of monotony.</i>
হাতে	gen	by	দুর্ভাগ্যের হাতে লাঞ্চিত <i>disgraced by wickedness</i>
হিসাবে	nom	as	বিদোহী কবি হিসাবে নজরুল ইসলামের কাছাকাছি কেউ কি যেতে পেরেছে? <i>Has anybody been able to come close to Nazrul Islam as a rebel poet?</i>

হতে	nom	than	রাধা হতে ললিতা অনেক বড়। <i>Lolita is much taller than Radha.</i>
হয়ে	gen nom	for via	তিনি আমার হয়ে বললেন। <i>He spoke for me.</i> ঢাকা হয়ে কলকাতা যাচ্ছি। <i>I am going to Calcutta via Dhaka.</i>

CHAPTER 3, APPENDIX 2 SMITH, MILNE, CHATTERJI LIST OF POSTPOSITIONS

W.L. Smith	W.S. Milne	S.K. Chatterji
	অপোচর beyond	
	অতীত beyond	
	অনুকল্ণে in lieu of	
	অনুকুলে on the side of, for	
	অনুরোধে for the sake of	
	অনুসারে in accordance with	
অন্তর after, every	অন্তর at intervals	
		অপেক্ষা with regard to
অবধি up to, until	অবধি from, since	
	অভিমুখে towards	
	অর্থে in order to, with the object of	
আগে before, ago	আগে before	আগে before
আশেপাশে by, alongside		
	উচ্চে aloft, high, above	
উদ্দেশ্যে in order to, with the intention of	উদ্দেশ্যে in search of	
	উদ্দেশ্যে with the object of	
উপর on, over, upon, at	উপর over, above, against	
উপর দিয়ে over, by way of		
	উপলক্ষে with the intention of	
	উদ্ধে aloft, high, above	
		করিতে than
		করিয়া, করে having done
		কর্তৃক by, through
কাছাকাছি around, near কাছ থেকে from (a person)		
কাছে by, at, near, to	কাছে near, by the side of	কাছে near, by, beside
	কারণে on account of	কারণ cause
	খাতিরে out of regard for	
	গোচরে in the presence of	
		ঘর, ঘরে house, in the house
চারদিকে on all four sides	চারিদিকে on all sides	
চারপাশে around	চারিপাশে on all sides	
		চাহিতে than
		চাহিয়া, চেয়ে than
ছাড়া besides, except	ছাড়া without, besides	ছাড়া without
ছেড়ে from		
জন্যে for, for the sake of	জন্যে, জন্য for the sake of, for	জন্যে for the sake of, because of

W.L. Smith	W.S. Milne	S.K. Chatterji
		ঠাই <i>place</i>
		তরে for, for the sake of
	তলায়, তলে below, at the bottom of	
	তুল্য like	
থেকে from, out of, since	থেকে from, since	থাকিয়া, থেকে having stopped at
		থানে <i>locative</i>
	দরুন for, on account of	
দারুন for, on account of, because of		
দিকে towards	দিকে in the direction of	
দিয়ে from, through, with, by, by means of	দিয়ে through, by, via	দিয়া, দিয়ে having given
দ্বারা through, by means of		দ্বারা through <i>instrumental</i>
ধরে for, during (a period of time)	ধরিয়া, ধরে during	
	নাগোং up to, as far as	
	নিকট, নিকটে near, toby the side of	
নিচে below, underneath	নিচে below, at the bottom of	নিচে below
	নিমিত্ত, নিমিত্তে for the sake of	
	নিবন্ধন because of	
	নিম্নে below	
নিয়ে with, in the company of, about		
	ন্যায় like	
পক্ষে for	পক্ষে for, on the side of	
পর, পরে after, later	পর, পরে after	পর, উপর above, upon
পর থেকে since, after		
	পরিবর্তে instead of	
পর্যন্ত until, as far as	পর্যন্ত up to, as far as	
	পশ্চাতে after, behind	
		পাখে by the side of
পানে in the direction of	পানে in the direction of	পানে at, towards
পাশাপাশি by, near,		
পাশে alongside of, beside		পাশে side
	পূর্বক with	
পূর্বে before	পূর্বে before	
পিছনে, পেছনে behind, after	পেছনে after, behind	পিছে after
প্রতি for, towards	প্রতি towards, in the direction of	
	প্রতিকূলে against	
	প্রতিপক্ষে against	

W.L. Smith	W.S. Milne	S.K. Chatterji
	প্রত্যক্ষে in the presence of	
	প্রযুক্ত because of	
		বই without, apart from
বদলে in exchange for, instead of	বদলে instead of	
	বরাবর direct, to the address of	
	বশতঃ on account of	
বাইরে out, outside of	বাহিরে outside	বাহিরে outside
	বাহির হইতে from without	
বাদে after		
	বিধায় because of	
বিনা without	বিনা without, besides	বিনা without
	বিপক্ষে against, opposed to	
বিরুদ্ধে against	বিরুদ্ধে against, opposed to	
বিষয়ে about, regarding	বিষয়ে in the matter of, concerning	
বেয়ে by, by way of, along		
	ব্যতিরেকে without, besides	
	ব্যতীত without, besides	
	ভিতর হইতে from within	
ভিতরে in, into, inside	ভিতরে within, among	ভিতরে within
	ভিন্ন without, besides	
মত, মতন like, similar to, for, according to	মত, মতন like	
মধ্যে in, into, on, among, between	মধ্যে in the midst of, within	
মধ্যে দিয়ে through, by means of	মধ্যে দিয়া across	
	মাঝখান থেকে from amidst	
মাঝখানে in, in the middle of	মাঝখানে in the midst of, within	
	মাঝে in the midst of, within	মাঝে in the middle
মাধ্যমে by means of, through		
মারফতে because of, by means of		
		লাগিয়ে, লেগে having come in touch with
	সংক্রান্ত connected with, concerning	
সঙ্গে with, in the company of	সঙ্গে with	সঙ্গে along with
সঙ্গে সঙ্গে as, simultaneously with		

W.L. Smith		W.S. Milne		S.K. Chatterji	
সত্ত্বেও	in spite of, despite	সত্ত্বেও	in spite of		
				সনে	with
		সন্নিধানে	near		
		সমান	like		
		সমীপে	near		
		সমভিব্যাহারে	with		
সম্পর্কে	in relation to, about, regarding				
সম্বন্ধে	about	সম্বন্ধে	in the matter of, concerning		
		সম্মুখে	in front of		
		সহ	with		
		সহিত	with		
		সাক্ষতে	in the presence of		
সাথে	with, in the company of			সাথে	with
সামনে	in front of				
				সুদ্ধ, সুদ্ধা	<i>inclusion, also</i>
		স্থলে	in the place of, by way of		
হতে	from, since	হইতে	from, since	হইতে	<i>ablative</i>
হয়ে	via, by way of	হইয়া	through, by, via		
				হইলে, হলে	in that case
হিসাবে	as, in the capacity of				
		হেতু	because of		

CHAPTER 3, APPENDIX 3 POSTPOSITIONS OVERVIEW

postposition	derivation	status / word class (dictionary)	case of preceding noun	meaning	special use/ example
আগে	loc আগ n front, forepart	adverbial - connection with noun weak	gen	<i>temporal</i> before, first, early, ago	adverbial use: আমি আগে বনব।
উদ্দেশে	loc উদ্দেশ n intention, purpose	remains nominal, not a proper postposition	gen	<i>purpose</i> in order to, with the intention of, for	শেখার উদ্দেশে জনে can be used instead
উপরে	loc উপর n top, upper part	adverbial, prep - connection with noun weak	gen	<i>spatial</i> above, on top of, upon, over	lots of idiomatic uses: কারণ উপরে রাগ করা দুই মাসের উপরে more than
কাছাকাছি	from কাছ n nearness, proximity,	adverbial, not often used as postpos	gen	<i>spatial</i> near, close, about	used for estimates: তিন দিনের কাছাকাছি
কাছে	loc কাছ n nearness, proximity	adv, prep - independent of noun	gen	<i>spatial</i> near, close, by	wider use আমার কাছে with me, on me
ছাড়া	same as vb n form, not, as expected, ছেড়ে	prep - strong connection with verb	nom or acc	<i>manner</i> except, without, apart from	semantic difference between তুমি ছাড়া and তোমাকে ছাড়া
জন্য	loc in form only, জন্য also given as prep	prep	gen	<i>advocacy or purpose</i> for	সে জন্যে (nom)
থেকে (কাছ থেকে)	(n +) perf part of থাকা	থেকে has lost verbal character (loc ending is dropped)	nom	<i>spatial</i> from (a person)	use with gen instead of চেয়ে than তার থেকে ভালো
দিকে (চারদিকে)	loc দিক n direction, side of	not given separately	gen	<i>spatial</i> towards, in the direction of	wider use: about পাঁচটার দিকে
দিয়ে	perf part of দেওয়া	prep, but connection with verb remains	nom	<i>instrumental</i> with, by, through	can be spatial: along এই পথ দিয়ে যাওয়া
ধরে	perf part of ধরা	prep - connection with verb remains	nom	<i>temporal</i> during	এক মাস ধরে = having taken one month
নিচে	loc নিচ, নিচু n, adj	adv and prep, but nominal connection remains	gen as prep, nom as adv	<i>spatial</i> below, under, underneath, down	adverbial use: down, downstairs নিচে যাওয়া
নিয়ে	perf part of নেওয়া	remains verbal	nom, acc for people	<i>instrumental</i> with, in the company of	also in the sense of জন্যে তারকে নিয়ে চিন্তা

postposition	derivation	status / word class (dictionary)	case of preceding noun	meaning	special use/ example
পক্ষে	loc পক্ষ <i>n</i> direction, side	nominal	gen	<i>advocacy</i> for, in favour of	more limited than জন্য, no purpose expressed
পরিবর্তে	loc পরিবর্ত <i>n</i> exchange, substitute	nominal	gen	<i>manner</i> instead of, in place of	same as বদলে
পরে	loc in form only, পর given as adj	adv and prep	gen as prep, nom as adv	<i>temporal</i>	adverbial use: later আগি পরে বলাব
পর্যন্ত	<i>n</i> limit, end, extremity <i>prep</i>	prep	nom	<i>temporal or spatial</i> until, up to	with verbal nouns neg শেষ হওয়া না পর্যন্ত, ie as long as not
পাশে (চিরপাশে)	loc পাশ <i>n</i> side, end	adv, prep - connection with noun remains	gen	<i>spatial</i> next to, to the side of	frequent locative use: এই পাশে বস।
পিছনে	loc পিছ, পিছন <i>n</i> back	nominal	gen as prep, nom as adv	<i>spatial</i> behind, at the back of	adverbial use: at the back পিছনে বসা
বদলে	loc বদল <i>n</i> exchange, substitution	nominal	gen	<i>manner</i> instead of, in place of	same as পরিবর্তে
বাহিরে	loc বাহির <i>n</i> outside, exterior	adv and prep	gen as prep, nom as adverb	<i>spatial</i> outside of, beyond	adverbial use: outside
বাদে	loc বাদ <i>n</i> exception, omission	nominal	nom	<i>manner</i> except for	same as ছাড়া
বিনা	preposition, no obvious connection to other words	prep, in front of noun	nom or loc	<i>manner</i> without, except	same as ছাড়া
বিরুদ্ধ	loc বিরুদ্ধ <i>adj</i> adverse, unfavourable	given as adv	gen	<i>manner</i> against	opposite of পক্ষে
বিষয়ে	loc বিষয় <i>n</i> subject	nominal	gen	<i>referential</i> on the subject of, about	
ভিতরে	loc ভিতর <i>n</i> interior, inside	given as adv and prep, but remains nominal	gen as prep, nom as adv	<i>spatial</i> inside	adverbial use: indoors ভিতরে কেউ নেই।
মত, মতন	adv, prep	prep	gen	<i>manner</i> as, like	
মধ্যে	loc মধ্য <i>n</i> middle, centre	nominal	gen	<i>spatial</i> between, among	
মাঝখানে	loc মাঝখান <i>n</i> same as মাঝ	nominal	gen	<i>spatial</i> between, in the middle	adverbial use: মাঝখানে বস।

postposition	derivation	status/ word class (dictionary)	case of preceding noun	meaning	special use/ example
মাঝে	loc মাঝ <i>n</i> middle, centre	nominal	gen	<i>spatial</i> between, in the middle	less common than মাঝে
মাঝামে	loc মাঝাম <i>n</i> medium	nominal	gen	<i>instrumental</i> by means of, through	
সঙ্গে	loc সঙ্গে <i>n</i> company, association	prep	gen	<i>manner</i> with, together with	can be used adverbially: সে ও সঙ্গে যাবে।
সম্পর্কে	loc সম্পর্ক <i>n</i> relationship	nominal	nom for inanimates, gen for animates	<i>referential</i> about, in relation to	same as সম্বন্ধে ?
সম্বন্ধে	loc সম্বন্ধ <i>n</i> relation, connection	prep	gen	<i>referential</i> regarding, about	less nominal than বিষয়ে
সাথে	loc সাথে <i>n</i> company	prep	gen	<i>manner</i> with, together with	same as সঙ্গে
সামনে	loc সামনা <i>n</i> front, forepart	prep or adv	gen as prep, nom as adv	<i>spatial</i> in front of, before	adverbial use সামনে আসো
হতে, হইতে	inf of হওয়া	prep, has taken on independent meaning	nom	<i>spatial or temporal</i> from, since	থেকে can be used instead
হয়	perf part of হওয়া	prep, has taken on independent meaning	nom	<i>spatial</i> through, via	
হিসাবে	loc হিসাব <i>n</i> account, reckoning	nominal	nom	<i>manner</i> as, about	

CHAPTER 4, TIME ADVERBIALS

positional time adverbials (cf chapter p 22ff)						
adverbial	English	deictic re-latum (TU)	anaphoric re-latum (TT)	further specification	boundedness	tense restrictions, not used in:
এখন	<i>now</i>	simul	---	varies in extension	left	past cont past perf
এখনই	<i>just now</i>	simul	---	very close to TU	left	pres perf past cont past perf
তখন	<i>then</i>	---	simul	varies in extension	left	simple pres
আজকে	<i>today</i>	simul	---	precise rel to TU	left, right	---
গতকাল / মাস / বছর	<i>yesterday, last week, year etc</i>	before	---	precise rel to TU	left, right	simple pres future
আগামীকাল / মাস / বছর	<i>tomorrow, next month, year etc</i>	after	----	precise rel to TU	left, right	simple past past cont past perf
কালকে	<i>tomorrow, yesterday</i>	before after	---	precise rel to TU	left, right	simple pres
ভোরে, সকালে, রাত্রে etc	<i>at dawn, in the morning, at night etc</i>	before, after or non-deictic	---	precise rel to TU or TT	left, right	---
দিনে	<i>in the day time</i>	---	---	unspecified with simple present	left, right	---
সে সময়ে	<i>at that time</i>	---	simul	varies in extension	---	simple pres
তার আগে	<i>before that</i>	---	before	varies in extension	right	simple pres pres cont
তারপরে	<i>after that</i>	---	after	varies in extension	left	simple pres pres cont
যে কোনও সময়	<i>any time</i>	after	after	unspecified	---	pres cont pres perf simple past past cont past perf
সেই মুহূর্তে	<i>at that moment</i>	---	simul	narrow time range	left, right	simple pres
একটু পরে	<i>a bit later</i>	after	after	fairly close to TU or TT	left	simple pres
অনেক আগে	<i>a long time ago, long before</i>	before	before	great distance from TU or TT	right	simple pres pres cont(?)
এই মাত্র	<i>just now</i>	before	---	very close to TU	right	simple pres future past cont past perf past habit

other time adverbials

For the following time adverbials (frequentative (frequ), durative (dur), and those 'indicating the position of a situation in a series of possible situations' (pos sit) (Klein, p 149)), the above criteria of deixis and boundedness are of less relevance and, in order to make a meaningful statement about their semantic properties, other criteria have to be applied, eg their use with either stative or active verbs, intervals of occurrence (frequentative), length of duration (durative) and possible reiterative connotations.

adverbial	English	functional type of adv	aspective features	semantic properties	boundedness, if any	tense restrictions, not used in
সব সময়	<i>always</i>	frequ dur	with stative or active verbs	constant re-occurrence (frequ) unlimited time range (dur)	----	pres perf simple past past cont past perf
মাঝে মাঝে সময় সময়	<i>sometimes</i>	frequ	with stative or active verbs	occasional reoccurrence	---	simple past past cont past perf (?)
কখনও না কোনও দিন ও না	<i>never</i>	frequ	with stative or active verbs	no extension in time	left, right	continuous tenses
প্রতিদিন, রোজ	<i>every day, daily</i>	frequ	active	regular reoccurrence within fixed time frame	left, right	future tense present perf all past tenses, except past habit
বার বার	<i>again and again</i>	frequ	with active verbs	repeated reoccurrence within open time frame	---	---
একবার, দুইবার etc	<i>once, twice etc</i>	frequ	with punctual vbs	positional quality	---	---
এখনও	<i>still</i>	dur	imperfective aspect	deictic, can precede and include TU	---	pres perf simple past past cont past perf
এখনও না	<i>not yet</i>	dur (?)	imperfective aspect	expectation not met?	right	continuous tenses
এইর মধ্যে	<i>in the mean-time</i>	dur	perfective aspect	deictic or anaphoric	right	simple pres pres cont future tense
এই পর্যন্ত	<i>until now</i>	dur	perfective aspect	deictic, up to TU	right	simple pres pres cont past cont past perf
এতক্ষণ	<i>for so long</i>	dur	imperfective aspect	deictic or anaphoric	right	simple pres future tense
সারাদিন সারারাত	<i>all day, all night</i>	dur	not with telic vbs	deictic with all but simple pres	left, right	---
আবার	<i>again</i>	pos sit	with active or stative vbs	non-deictic, reiterative	left	---
সকাল সকাল	<i>early</i>	pos sit	not with stative vbs	earlier than expected	left	---

দেরিতে	<i>late</i>	pos sit	not with stative verbs	later than expected	left	----
প্রথমে	<i>at first</i>	pos sit	with active or stative verbs	first in a series of events	right	pres tenses unlikely
শুরুতে	<i>at the be- ginning</i>	pos sit	with active or stative verbs	beginning of a fixed time span	right	pres tenses unlikely
শেষে	<i>finally</i>	pos sit	with active or stative verbs	ending of a fixed time span	left	pres tenses unlikely

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ERRATA

The errata listed here serve **only** to tidy up the text, ie add missing page number references, correct spelling or other mistakes. More substantial changes will be incorporated in a forthcoming overhaul of these chapters to make them suitable for publication.

chapter 1 (non-finites)

- p 38, line 2 should read: is a present participle or an infinitive (quoted on page 36).
p 46, translation missing: 4.4.12 উনি আসা পর্যন্ত বসুন।
p 56, line 5 should read: *Sit down until he comes.*
বুজি শেষ হলে আমরা (not আমরা) যাবো।

chapter 2 (compound verbs)

- p 71 line 7 of **Definitions**: change 'Pobitro' to 'Pabitra'
p 77, line 2 should read: Examples with যাওয়া are given on page 82.
p 78, line 4, under 3. Examples of these are given on page 82.
p 86, line 13/14 should read:ফেলা is undoubtedly the compound maker which has moved furthest....
p 89, line 15 for ভেঙ্গে read ভেঙে

chapter 3 (postpositions)

- p 95 under 3, last line add full stop after 'sentences'
p 96, line 22 for 'cofirm' read 'confirm'
p 100, line 11 'The analysis...' - this should be moved to the beginning of the line and not have a bullet point
p 101, line 8 for কি উপলক্ষেতাহার অঙ্গুলিতে read
কি উপলক্ষে তাহার অঙ্গুলিতে
p 107, eighth line from the end of the section on নিয়ে for ' When নিয়ে is used as a perfective participle...' read 'When নিয়ে is used as part of a compound verb...'
p 112, line 11 for তুমি বিনানাই read তুমি বিনা নাই
p 112, 5th line from bottom for আমরা read আমরা

chapter 5 (verbs of being)

- p 189 last entry for হলে read হল
p 191 second last line should be: (discussed in tenses chapter p 128)
p 200 line 10 should read: examples are given in section 1 (p 164)

chapter 6 (word order)

- p 210, line 1 under 5 for *I have told you* read *I have told father*
p 217, 3rd line under 7.3.5 for বিনষ্ট *destroyed* read বিনষ্ট

